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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

House of Brandenburg :

From the earliest accounts, to the death of
FREDERICK I. KING of PRUSSIA.

To which are added,

FOUR DISSERTATIONS.

- I. On Manners, Customs, Industry, and the progress of the Human Understanding in the arts and sciences.
- II. On the antient and modern government of Brandenburg.
- III. On Superstition and Religion.
- IV. On the Reasons for the enacting and repealing of Laws.

And a PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

By the present KING of PRUSSIA.

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed by E. and J. ROBERTSONS ;
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wing of the *Exchange*.

M D C C L I X .

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TO THE
PRINCE ROYAL
OF
PRUSSIA.

DEAR BROTHER,

HAVING lately employed some leisure hours in drawing up an abridgment of the history of the house of Brandenburg, I thought proper to address this work to you, who are one day to be the ornament of this history; to you who are next heir to the crown, and to whom I have consecrated all my toils and perils. It is true you were acquainted with the actions of your ancestors, before I undertook to commit them to writing: therefore the pains I have taken in making this extract, can be of no other use to you than to recal them to your memory. I have treated the subject with freedom and impartiality, so as to exhibit the princes of your house in their real colours. The same pen which has drawn the civil and military virtues of the great Elector, has glanced at the foibles of the first king of Prussia, and those passions which in the order of Providence contributed

tributed afterwards to raise this house to its present pitch of grandeur. I have divested myself of all manner of prejudice, and considered princes and relations only as other men. Far from being biassed by the weight of power, or from idolizing my ancestors, I have freely condemned their vices, because vice should find no patronage on the throne: I have commended virtue in those whom it adorned; but guarded against the enthusiasm which it naturally inspires; to the end that nothing but truth, in her plain and native dress, should reign throughout this history. If mortals may be allowed to dive into the secrets of futurity, and after an investigation of principles to reason on the consequences, I may venture to predict, from the knowledge I have of your character, a lasting prosperity to this empire. It is not the suggestion of a blind and passionate affection, nor the base language of flattery, which both of us equally detest, but it is truth itself that obliges me to tell you, with an inward satisfaction, that you have rendered yourself worthy of the rank to which your birth has called you, and of the title of DEFENDER OF YOUR COUNTRY, by bravely venturing your life in her cause. If you did not think it beneath you to pass through the different degrees of military subordination, it is because you judged, that to be worthy of command, you ought first to learn to obey; it is because your moderation forbade you to plume yourself with that empty glory which vulgar princes are apt to assume upon the experience of veteran captains. Your chief and constant

aim

aim is the good of your country : hence you have silenced every passion, and set every view of private interest aside, whenever it was your duty to appear in her defence. It was from this same principle that BOUFFLERS offered himself to the king of France in the campaign of 1709, and served under VILLARS; who received him with the following compliment ; “ Such a colleague, Sir, as you, I shall always consider as my master.” It is not only on that coolness and presence of mind which no perils can discompose, nor on that bravery and prudent resolution which you have always exerted in decisive moments, and by which the troops have often distinguished you as one of the chief instruments of their victory ; it is not, I say, on these virtues only that I ground my hopes, and those of the public : the bravest kings have often made their subjects unhappy ; witness the military ardour of FRANCIS I. and CHARLES XII. and so many other princes, who have been upon the brink of ruin themselves, or ruined their country, by excess of ambition. Permit me to tell you, it is the gentleness and humanity of your disposition ; it is the sincere, the unfeigned tears which you shed, when a sudden accident had like to have ended my days ; that I look upon as the sure marks of your virtue, and as pledges of the happiness of those whom heaven has destined to be one day under your government. A heart susceptible of friendship is superior to base ambition ; for your part, you know no other rule of conduct than justice, and have no other desire than that of

preserving

preserving the esteem of wise and virtuous men? Thus thought the ANTONINUS's, the TITUS's, the TRAJANS, those best of princes, who have been justly called the delight of human kind. How happy am I, Dear Brother, to behold my nearest and most beloved relation possessed of so many virtues! Heaven has given me a soul sensible to the impressions of merit, and a heart capable of gratitude; ties which, joined to those of nature, will bind me for ever to you. With these sentiments you have been long indeed acquainted; but I am glad I have the opportunity of repeating them to you at the head of this work, and, as it were, in the presence of the whole universe. I am with friendship and esteem,

Dear Brother,

Your faithful brother

and servant,

T H E

Preliminary Discourse.

HISTORY is looked upon as the school of princes : it exhibits to their memory the reigns of those sovereigns who were fathers of their country, and of those tyrants who laid it waste : it points out the causes of the increase and decline of empires : it displays such a multitude of characters, that some of them cannot help bearing a resemblance to those of the princes in our days ; and while it decides the reputation of the dead, it pronounces a tacit sentence on the living. Thus the censure, which history passes on those wicked men who are no more, is a moral lesson to the present generation, by which they are given to understand what kind of judgment posterity will form of their conduct.

Though the study of history is, of all others, the most proper for princes, yet it is not less useful to private persons : it is the chain of the several events of past ages transmitted down to our days. Here the civilian, the politician, and the soldier, learn the connexion of things present with the past : here they find encomiums bestowed on those who faithfully served their country ; and universal odium entailed on the names of such as abused the confidence of
B their

their fellow-citizens : here, in fine, they are made wise by the experience of others.

To contract the sphere of our ideas to the spot we live on, or to confine our knowledge to our private duties, is grovelling in the most stupid ignorance. But to penetrate into the remote recesses of antiquity ; to comprehend the whole universe within the extent of the mind ; is really triumphing over ignorance and error, is co-existing with all ages, and becoming, indeed, a citizen of all places and countries.

As general histories prevent our being perplexed or confounded in regard to that great multiplicity of events, which have happened in all countries ; as they conduct us regularly, from the remotest antiquity, down through the succession of times, by fixing certain epochs, which serve as resting-places to the memory : so particular histories have this advantage, that they enter into a detail of the several events which have occurred in an empire, by confining themselves entirely to this single branch. General histories present us, as it were, with a large picture, filled with a variety of figures, some of which are covered with such strong shades as render them too indistinct to be discerned. Particular histories pick a single figure out of this piece ; they present it to the life ; and, giving it every advantage of light and colours, they enable the public to view it with that attention which it deserves.

A man that does not really think he dropt from the clouds, or does not date the origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be curious of being acquainted with the transactions of different ages and countries. If he is indifferent with regard to the fate of so many other nations, that
have

have been the sport of fortune, he will be pleased, at least, with the history of the country he lives in, and with the relation of the events in which his ancestors were concerned. If an Englishman, for example, has no knowledge of the history of those kings who filled the throne of Persia ; if his memory is embarrassed with that infinite number of popes who ruled the church, we are ready to excuse him : but we shall hardly have the same indulgence for him, if he is a stranger to the original of parliaments, to the customs of his country, and to the different lines of kings who have reigned in England.

Prussia is the only civilized country in Europe whose history was wanting. I do not rank among the number of historians a Hartknoch, or a Puffendorff ; laborious writers indeed, but who compiled only facts, and whose works may be looked upon rather as historical dictionaries, than real histories. Nor do I recokon a Lockelius, who wrote a tedious chronicle, where, for the pleasure of finding only a single event of importance, we must be at the trouble of reading a hundred tiresome pages. This sort of writers may be compared to labourers, who carefully, but injudiciously, collect a quantity of materials, which are quite useless, till the architect has given them their proper form, 'Tis as impossible that those compilations should constitute a history, as that a printer's types should make a book, unless they are distributed in the order requisite for the composition of words and sentences.

Young people, who are naturally impatient ; and men of taste, whose time is precious ; are very little inclined to attempt the reading of these voluminous works. A person who is accustomed only to pamph-

lets and such slight pieces, will be frightened at a folio ; for which reason the authors above-mentioned have been but little read, and the history of Brandenburg and Prussia was hardly known.

As early as the reign of Frederick I. they grew sensible of the necessity of having an author to digest this history into a proper form. Teiffier was invited from Holland to undertake this work ; but, instead of an history, he wrote a panegyric : and he seems to have been ignorant, that truth is as essential to history as the soul to the human body.

Having therefore found this task as yet unexecuted, I have ventured to undertake it myself, with a view not only of writing an useful work, but of presenting the public with a history which it wanted.

The facts I have taken from the best authorities I could find. For the remote ages I had recourse to Cæsar and Tacitus ; and for latter times I consulted Lockelius's chronicle, Puffendorff and Hartknoch ; and especially the records and authentic papers of the royal archives, upon which I have chiefly founded my memoirs. Facts which are uncertain, I relate as such ; and the gapes are left as I found them. I have made it my rule to be impartial, and to examine the several events with a philosophic indifference, from a conviction that an adherence to truth is the principal duty of an historian.

If some persons, over nice, should be offended, that I have not placed their ancestors in an advantageous light, I have only one word of reply : it is, that my intent was not to write a panegyric, but a history ; and that it is very consistent to esteem their personal merit, and yet to blame the faults committed by their forefathers. Besides, it is certain, that

no work can have any excellency or real value, that is not written with freedom ; and that we ought less to respect frail and mortal men, than truth which is immortal.

Some perhaps will find fault with this abridgment for being too concise ; but it was not my design to write a long, tedious work. Let a professor, scrupulously exact in trifles, condemn me for not mentioning the name of the cloth that Albert the Achilles's coat was made of, or the cut of John the Cicero's band : let a pedant of Ratisbon complain, that I have not transcribed any of those proceedings, negotiations, conventions, or treaties of peace, which are to met with in huge volumes : I mind none of those gentlemen ; and I would have them to know, that I do not write for them. I have not leisure to spin out a folio ; scarce am I able to compass an historical abridgment : besides, I am firmly of opinion, that no subject deserves to be committed to writing that is not worth retaining.

For this reason, I have touched but very slightly upon the obscure original, and the insignificant administration of the first princes of this family. 'Tis with histories as with rivers, which are of no consequence 'till they begin to be navigable. The history of the house of Brandenburg has nothing engaging, 'till the time of John Sigismund. The acquisition that prince made of Prussia, and the succession of Cleves, which fell to him in right of his wife, are events of such importance as may merit the reader's attention. From that period, as the matter grew upon me, it enabled me to be proportionably diffusive.

The thirty years war is far more interesting than

the disputes between Frederick I. and the Norimbergers, or the caroufals of Albert the Achilles. This war, the marks of which are still visible in the several provinces of the empire, is one of those memorable events which every German and Prussian ought to be well acquainted with. On the one side, we see the ambition of the house of Austria, spreading the terror of her arms, to establish despotic power in the empire; and on the other, the generous spirit of the princes of Germany, contending for their liberty; while religion served as a pretext alike to both parties. We see, likewise, two great kings induced by political views to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, 'till they reduce the house of Austria to consent, by the treaty of Westphalia, to the re-establishment of that balance, which preserves the equilibrium between the ambition of the emperors, and the liberty of the electoral college. Events of that great importance, which influence the most momentous concerns even in our days, deserve to be treated with greater extent and exactness; and, indeed, I have enlarged upon them as much as the nature of this work will permit.

This edition has been revised, corrected, and improved, as much as other occupations of a more serious nature would permit. As the first edition was made from an incorrect copy, I have endeavoured to render this more exact, as well in consideration of the matter, as out of regard to the public, whom every man that writes ought to respect.

There has lately appeared a chronological abridgment of the history of France, which may be looked upon as the quintessence of the most remarkable transactions of that history. The judicious author has had

had the art of embellishing even chronology itself: by being well acquainted with that work, a man may be said to be thoroughly versed in the history of France. Far am I from being so vain as to think I have set off this essay with the same ornaments; but I shall think my labour requited, if it should prove useful to our young people, and save some time to such of my readers as have none to spare.

Though I was sensible of the difficulties which a German lyes under in writing in a foreign language, yet I determined to draw up these papers in French, because it is the most polished and the most general language in Europe; and it seems to be in some measure ascertained by the excellent writers in the reign of Lewis XIV. After all, it is no more surprising that a German should, in our days, write in French; than it was in Cicero's time that a Roman should write in Greek. I shall say no more concerning this performance, lest the preface should run to such a length as to exceed the work itself. 'Tis the reader's business to judge, whether I have executed the task I undertook, or have lost my time and labour.



M E M O I R S

O F T H E

House of Brandenburg.

TH E house of Brandenburg, or rather that of Hohenzollern, is so antient, that its original is lost in the darkness of antiquity. I might indeed relate the fables or the conjectures that have been formed on its extraction: but fables ought not to be presented to the public in this judicious and learned age. It is of little importance that genealogists make it descend from the house of Colonna, and that, by a gross mistake, they confound the sceptre in the arms of the family of Brandenburg with the column which that Italian house bears in its escutcheons. In short, of little importance is it, that the counts of Hohenzollern are made to descend from Witikind, from the Guelphs, or from any other house: mankind, I think, are all of a race equally antient. After all, the researches of a genealogist, or the labours of the learned, who investigate the etymology of words, are things of so small and trifling a nature, as to be beneath the notice of men of sense. We ought

ought to have remarkable facts and objects, capable of fixing the attention of reasonable beings.

I shall not then lose my time in puzzling my brain with researches as frivolous as unuseful.

Tassillo, who lived about the year 800, is the first count of Hohenzollern known in history. His descendants were Danco, Rodolph I. Otho, Wolfgang, Frederick I. Frederick II. Frederick III. Burchard, Frederick IV. Rodolph II. concerning whom little more than their bare names has been transmitted to posterity. Conrad, who lived towards the year 1200, is the first burgrave of Nuremberg mentioned in history. His successors were, Frederick I. in 1216, Conrad II. in 1260; Frederick II. in 1270. We find that Frederick III. inherited from his brother in law the duke of Meran, the lordships of Bareith and Cadelsburg. He was succeeded by John I. in 1298, and the latter by Frederick IV. in 1332.

This burgrave did very great services to the emperors Albert, Henry VII. and Lewis of Bavaria, in the wars between them and Frederick of Austria. The burgrave beat the arch-duke, took him prisoner, and delivered him up to the emperor : and this prince, in return, made the burgrave a present of all the prisoners he had taken from the Austrians. Frederick IV. set them at liberty, on condition that they should pay him homage for their lands : and this is the origin of the right of vassalage, which the margaves of Franconia preserve still in Austria.

The successors of Frederick IV. were Conrad IV. in 1334, John II. in 1357, Albert, VI. surnamed *the handsome*, in 1361 ; and Albert's nephew Frederick V. whom the emperor Charles IV. declared prince

prince of the empire in 1363, at the diet of Nuremberg, and likewise appointed his commissary.

Frederick V. divided the lands of his burgraviate, in the year 1420, between his two sons John III. and Frederick VI. but John III. dying without issue, the whole paternal succession fell to Frederick VI.

In the year 1408, this prince marched his army into the territories of the city of Rothweil, which had been put under the ban of the empire, where he demolished several castles. In 1410 he took possession of the government of the Marck, which had been conferred upon him by the emperor Sigismund.

As the late electors of Brandenburg had not resided in the Marck, the nobility embraced this opportunity to revolt, and become independent. The new governor joined his forces with the dukes of Pomerania, and fought a most bloody battle against the rebels near Zossen. He gained a complete victory, and demolished some of the forts, which served them for places of retreat; but he could not entirely subdue the family of Kuitzow, till he had taken from them twenty-four castles, which were all in a state of defence.

We are now come to a memorable æra of the history of the house of Hohenzollern; but as we find it transplanted, as it were, into a new country, it will be proper to give some account of the origin and government of Brandenburg.

The provinces which then composed the electorate of Brandenburg, where the old Marck, the middle Marck, the new Marck, the Uckraïne Marck, Pregnitz, the county of Ruppın, Crossen, Cotbus, Bessékaw and Storkaw. The word margaraviate originally signifies the government of frontiers.

The Romans were the first who established governors in that country, which they had conquered from the Swevi. Yet 'tis observed, that they never passed the Elbe. It seems according to Tacitus, that the brave and warlike spirit of those people preserved them from being enslaved. The Swevi, as well as the Romans, were afterwards driven out by the Vandals, the Henetti, the Saxons and the Franks; and Charlemain found it very difficult to subdue them in 780. Margraves, however, were not established in this country till the year 927, when Henry *the Fowler* appointed governors of that name, to bridle those people who were inclined to revolt, and to overawe the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, who exercised their roving valour in continual inroads and depredations. Sifroi, brother in law to the emperor Henry *the Fowler*, was, according to Enzelt, the first margrave of Brandenburg, in the year 927. Under his administration it was that the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Misnia, Camin and Havelberg were founded; but that of Magdeburg was founded by the emperor Otho.

Historians generally reckon six different lines of the margraves of Brandenburg from Sifroi down to our time; namely, that of the Saxons, of the counts of Stade, of the house of Anhalt, of Bavaria, of Luxemburg, and, in fine, that of Hohenzollern, which still subsists.

Under the administration of the antient margraves, a king of the Vandals, by name Mistevojus, laid the Marcks entirely waste, and drove away the governors. The country was recovered again by the emperor Henry II. the barbarians were overthrown, and Mistevojus, with six thousand men, was slain. Notwithstanding

standing this success, the margraves enjoyed no rest; for they were continually at war with the Vandals, and other barbarous nations, with various success: nor was their power quite settled, till under Albert *the bear*, the first of the Anhalt line, which was the third of the margraves. The emperor Conrad III. raised him to the margraviate, and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa to the electoral dignity, towards the year 1100. Premislaus, prince of the Vandals, who had no issue of his own, conceived so great a liking to Albert *the bear*, as to leave him by his will the middle Marck, in the year 1142. This elector was at that time master of the old and middle Marck, of upper Saxony, the country of Anhalt, and part of Lusatia. With regard to the princes of the Anhalt line, neither history nor records afford us the least light concerning their transactions. It is known, that this line became extinct in 1332, by the death of Woldemar II. The then reigning emperor Lewis of Bavaria, looking upon the Marck as a fief devolved to the empire, gave it to his son Lewis, who was the first of the fourth line. This elector had three different wars to maintain; one with the dukes of Pomerania, who had invaded the Uckraine Marck; the second with the Poles, who ravaged the county of Sternberg; and the third against an impostor, who, by personating Woldemar, brother to the last elector of the house of Anhalt, had formed a party, and made himself master of some towns, but was at length defeated. This pretender was the son of a miller at Belitz.

Lewis *the Roman* * succeeded his brother; and dying, like him, without issue, was succeeded by his
third

* So called because he was born at Rome.

third brother Otho. This prince was so mean spirited, that, after the death of the emperor his father, he sold the electorate, in 1370, for two hundred thousand florins, to the emperor Charles IV. of the house of Luxemburg, who did not even pay him that small sum. Charles IV. gave the Marck to his son Wenceslaus, who wanted to incorporate it with his kingdom of Bohemia.

Sigismund, the third elector of the house of Luxemburg, being in want of money, sold the new Marck to the Teutonic Order, in 1402. That order had been possessed of this province before, after conquering it from the elector John: it had been redeemed by Otho *the long*; and now it was alienated again by Sigismund of Luxemburg. The elector Jodocus, of the same family, poisoned his brother Procopius. This prince reigned twenty four years; but aspiring after the imperial crown, he sold the whole electorate to William duke of Misnia for four hundred thousand florins. This duke had not been in possession of the Marck above a year, when it was redeemed by the emperor Sigismund.

This extraordinary custom, which so greatly prevailed in that age, of buying and selling different territories, is an evident proof of the barbarousness of those days, and of the miserable situation these provinces were in, which were sold so very cheap. The emperor Sigismund made Frederick VI. who was burgrave of Nurenberg, governor or margrave of Brandenburg: and 'tis with this prince we propose to commence our history.

F R E D E R I C K I.

It was in the year 1415, that the emperor conferred the electoral dignity, and the office of great chamberlain of the empire, on Frederick I. and at the same time made him a present of the country of Brandenburg. This prince received the investiture from the hands of his benefactor, at the diet of Constance, in 1417. He was in possession then of the old and middle Marck; but the Uckrainé Marck having been usurped by the dukes of Pomerania, the elector declared war against them, defeated them at Angermund, and recovered a province, which, from time immemorial, had been incorporated with the Marck.

The new Marck was still mortgaged, as we have already observed, to the Teutonic Order; but the elector, desirous of enlarging his territories, took possession of Saxony; which electorate was then vacant by the death of the last elector of the Anhalt line. This acquisition did not meet with the emperor's approbation, who gave the investiture of it to the duke of Misnia; upon which Frederick I. voluntarily desisted from his pretensions.

The elector made a testamentary division of his territories among his children. His eldest son, surnamed *the Alchymist*, lost the electorate for having too closely applied himself to the search of the philosopher's stone; so he gave him Voigtland; to his second son Frederick he bequeathed the electorate; the duchies of Franconia to Albert, surnamed *the Achilles*; and the old Marck to his son Frederick, surnamed *the fat*; but by the death of the latter, this province was reunited to the electorate of Brandenburg. In those remote times they still adhered to
that

that principle of natural equity, which seems to require, that a father should make an equal partition of his fortune among his children. But it was afterwards found, that the ruin of the great families was owing to this custom of establishing a settlement for the younger brothers. We shall, however, in the course of this history, meet with some other instances of the like divisions. Frederick died in 1440.

FREDRICK II. surnamed IRON-TOOTH.

Frederick II. was surnamed *Iron-tooth*, because of his strength. He should have been called *the Magnanimous*, for having refused two crowns; that of Bohemia, which was offered him by the pope, who wanted to get George Podiebrad deposed; and that to which he had been invited by the Poles, which he declared he would not accept, unless Casimir, brother to the late king Ladislaus, refused it. The magnanimity of this elector gained him the confidence of nations; insomuch that the states of Lower Lusatia made a voluntary surrender of their country to him. Lusatia was a fief of Bohemia. George Podiebrad, unmindful of the obligations he owed to Frederick II. attacked Lusatia and the Marck. But a treaty was agreed upon between these two princes at Guben, in 1462, by which the perpetual sovereignty of Cötbus, Peits, Sommerfeld, Bobersberg, Storkaw, and Bessékaw, was yielded to the elector by the crown of Bohemia. The elector, who had no inclination to make unjust acquisitions, took care, however, to assert his lawful rights. Thus he redeemed * the new Marck of the Teutonic Order, to whom, as I have already observed, it had been mortgaged. Upon the

* In 1445, for 100,000 florins.

the decease of Otho III. the last duke of Stettin, which happened in 1464, the elector declared war against the duke of Wolgast. His reason was, because Lewis of Bavaria, elector of Brandenburg, had made a treaty, in 1338, with the dukes of Pomerania; whereby it was agreed, that if their line should come to be extinct, Pomerania should revert to the electorate. This treaty had been ratified by the emperor. The dispute, however, was determined by an agreement made in 1464, by which the duke of Wolgast remained indeed in possession of the dutchy of Stettin, but became feudatory to the elector, and Pomerania yielded him eventual homage. In the year 1469, Frederick II. reunited the county of Wernigerode to the Marck, as a vacant fief, taking the titles of duke of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Vandalia, Schwerin, and Rostock, of which he had the expectancy.

THE same disinterested spirit, which made him refuse two crowns, induced him to abdicate the electorate in 1469, in favour of his brother surnamed Albert *the Achilles*; for he had no children. This prince, who had always professed the principles of moderation, did not deviate from them on this occasion; for he reserved to himself only a small pension of six thousand florins, with which he spent the remainder of his days in philosophical retirement, and died in the year 1471, oppressed with infirmities.

ALBERT surnamed *THE* *ACHILLES*.

Albert, surnamed *the Achilles* and *Ulysses*, from his valour, was 57 years old at his brother's abdication. This prince had performed his chief

exploits while he was only burgrave of Nurenberg. As margrave of Bareith and Anspach, he declared war against Lewis *the Bearded*, duke of Bavaria, and took him prisoner. He gained eight battles against the Nurenbergers, who had rebelled, and contested his rights of the burgraviate. He ventured bravely his life in taking a standard from a guidon of this city, and fighting singly against sixteen men, till his people came up to his assistance. He made himself master of the town of Greiffenburg, in the same manner as Alexander of the capital of the Oxydracæ, by leaping from the top of the walls into the town, where he defended himself singly against the inhabitants, 'till his troops forced the gates, and rescued him from danger. The confidence which the emperor Frederick III. had in him, gained him the direction of almost the whole empire. He commanded the imperial armies against Lewis *the Rich*, duke of Bavaria, and against Charles *the Bold*, duke of Burgundy, who had laid siege to Nuis *, but concluded a peace by the interposition of Albert. He gained the prize at seventeen tournaments, and was never dismounted.

THESE combates seem to be of French original. Very likely they were introduced into that country by the Moors, who over-run Spain, together with their romantic gallantry. We find in the history of France, that they were revived by one Godfrey de Preuilly, who lived in the year 1060. And yet Charles *the Bold*, who lived in 844, gave these entertainments at Strasburg, upon receiving a visit from his brother Lewis of Germany. This custom was received in England as early as the year 1114, and established, in 1194, by king Richard I. We are informed by

John

* The town of Nuis is situated in the electorate of Cologn.

John Cantacuzenus, that these combats, which came from Gaul, were celebrated, in 1226, at the marriage of Anne of Savoy with the Greek emperor Andronicus Paleologus. Numbers of people lost their lives in these combats, when they were carried to extremity. We read in Henry Cnigston, that there was a tournament at Chalons in 1274, occasioned by an interview between Edward king of England and the duke of Chalons, when several Burgundian and English gentlemen were killed upon the spot. Tournaments made their way into Germany as early as the year 1136. It was usual to send letters of defiance, in order to bring together the champions of those combats. These were nearly the contents, "That such a prince being weary of an effeminate idleness, desired the combat, in order to exercise his valour, and to signalize his skill in arms." They mentioned likewise the time, the number of combatants, the kind of arms, and the place where the tournament was to be held; and enjoined the vanquished knights to give a golden bracelet to the victors, and a silver one to their shield-bearers. These fatal entertainments met with opposition from the popes; for Innocent II. in 1140, and after him, Eugene III. in the council of Lateran, in 1313, thundered out their anathemas, excommunicating those who should be present at those combats. But, notwithstanding the superstition of those days, the popes were unable to suppress this fatal custom; a custom encouraged by a mistaken point of honour, and which the prevailing brutality of manners made use of as a shew and amusement agreeable to the barbarity of the age that gave it birth. For, since those excommunications, history makes mention of the tournament of Charles VI.

king of France, at Cambray, in 1385; of that of Francis I. between Ardres and Guines, in 1520; and that, in fine, at Paris, in 1559, where Henry II. received a wound in the eye from a splinter of count Montgomery's lance, of which he died in eleven days.

We find therefore, that Albert *the Achilles's* great merit at that time, was his having obtained the prize at seventeen tournaments; and that, in those ignorant days, they set as great a value upon bodily strength, as in Homer's time. The superior knowledge of our age esteems only the accomplishments of the mind, and those virtues by which a man raises himself almost above his frail condition, subdues his passions, and becomes humane, generous and benevolent.

Albert *the Achilles* reunited then his territories in Franconia to the electorate, by the abdication of his brother in 1470. After he had taken the reins of government, he made a treaty of confraternity, in 1473, with the houses of Saxony and Hesse, by which the succession of their dominions was regulated, in case any one of their lines should come to be extinct. In 1473, he settled the succession of his own territories among his children, leaving the electorate to John called *the Cicero*; Bareith to his second son; and, to the youngest, Anspach. Albert at length resigned the electorate, in 1476, in favour of John *the Cicero*. His daughter Barbara, who was married to Henry duke of Glogaw and Crossen, transferred the latter dutchy to the house of Brandenburg. By her marriage-contract it was stipulated, that, in case duke Henry happened to die without issue, the elector should have a right of raising annually fifty thou-

thousand ducats on the dutchy of Crossen. The case happened ; and John *the Cicero* took possession of the town of Crossen, and kept this acquisition. The third son of Albert *Achilles*, Frederick *the Fat*, margrave of Anspach, was grandfather to that Albert-Frederick, who received the dutchy of Jagerndorff of the king of Bohemia. It will not be amiss to observe, upon this occasion, that this duke George of Anspach and Jagerndorff made an agreement with the dukes of Oppelen and Ratibor, by which the survivors were to be heirs to those who died without issue. These two dukes had no children, and George inherited the succession of these duchies. Afterwards, Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. and heir to the kingdom of Bohemia, stripped the margrave George of Oppelen and Ratibor, promising him the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand florins as an indemnity, which was never paid.

JOHN THE CICERO.

The natural eloquence of this prince gained him the surname of *Cicero*. He reconciled three kings, who laid claim to Silesia ; namely, Ladislaus of Bohemia, Casimir of Poland, and Matthias of Hungary. John *Cicero*, and the elector of Saxony, entered Silesia at the head of six thousand horse, declaring they would oppose any of those kings that would refuse to listen to their terms of accommodation. It is recorded, that, by the force of his eloquence, he mediated an agreement between those princes, by which Silesia and Lusatia were divided between the kings of Bohemia and Hungary. I should be glad to meet with other instances of this prince's eloquence ; for, in

this case, the six thousand horse appear to have been the strongest argument. A prince, who is able to determine disputes by force of arms, is certainly a great logician; he is a Hercules, whose persuasive force lyes in his club.

John *Cicero* went to war with the duke of Sagan, who had formed pretensions upon the duchy of Crossen; the elector defeated him near this city, and took him prisoner. We may form a judgment of the manners of those days from this John duke of Sagan, who had the cruelty to let a brother of his, with whom he had quarrelled, perish with hunger. John *Cicero* died in 1499, and left behind him two sons; the eldest was Joachim, who succeeded him in the electorate; the second Albert, who was afterwards chosen elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg.

JOACHIM I. surnamed NESTOR.

This prince had the surname of *Nestor* given him, in the same manner as Lewis XIII. that of *the Just*; that is, without any reason we know of. He was only sixteen years old, when he came to the electorate. The county of Ruppin becoming vacant by the death of Wichman count of Lindaw, the elector reunited this fief to the Marck. He died in 1532, leaving two sons behind him, namely, Joachim his successor, and the margrave John, to whom he bequeathed the new Marck, Crossen, Sternberg, and Storkaw.

JOACHIM II.

It seems it was in Joachim II.'s time, that the ridiculous custom was laid aside of giving surnames to princes. That which was bestowed upon his father had succeeded so ill, that it became rather a nickname than an appellation of renown. The flattery of courtiers, after exhausting the comparisons of antiquity, turned itself undoubtedly another way : and it is to be believed, that the vanity of princes lost nothing by the change.

Joachim, as we have just now observed, succeeded his father in the electorate, and embraced the doctrine of Luther in 1539. The circumstances which gave rise to this revolution are not known ; this however is certain, that his courtiers and the bishop of Brandenburg followed his example.

A new religion which started up of a sudden, a religion which has divided Europe, changed the nature of possessions, and produced even new systems of politics, deserves our attention for a few moments, to consider the progress it made, and by what springs it produced such sudden revolutions in the greatest states.

As early as the year 1400, John Hufs began to preach his new doctrine in Bohemia ; which, strictly speaking, was that of the Vaudois, and of Wickliff, whose opinions he had embraced. Hufs was burnt at the council of Constance *. His pretended martyrdom inflamed the zeal of his disciples ; the Bohemians, who were too dull a people to enter into the sophistical disputes of the theologians, embraced

* In the year 1415, under Pope John XXIII.

this new sect merely from a spirit of independence and mutiny, which is properly the characteristic of this nation. These new converts shook off the papal yoke, and made use of the liberty of their consciences as a cloke to cover the crime of their revolt. Their party was formidable as long as one Ziska was at their head. This man obtained some victories over the troops of Wenceslaus and Ottacarus, kings of Bohemia; but, after his death, most of the Hussites were driven out of the kingdom; and we do not find that Hufs's doctrine made any progress out of Bohemia.

Ignorance was at its highest pitch in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The clergy had not even so much as the superficial learning of pedants; the dissolute and licentious life of the monks made all Europe call out for a reformation of so many abuses. The popes abused their authority to a degree that was past all bearing. Leo X. made a trade of indulgences thro' all christendom, to collect the sums which he wanted for the building of St Peter's church at Rome. Some pretend, that this pope made a present to his sister Cibo, of the produce of those which were to be sold in Saxony. This casual revenue was leased out; and those strange farmers, thro' avidity of gain, pitched upon friars, and such like mendicants, to collect very large sums; part of which was squandered away by the commissioners of the indulgences, in scandalous excesses. An inquisitor, whose name was Tetzal, together with some Dominicans, who had acquitted themselves very ill of this commission, gave rise to the reformation. For Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Austin friars, whose order had been formerly in possession of this trade, gave directions

ons to one of his friars, whose name was Luther, to preach against the indulgences. Luther had already, in the year 1516, attacked the schoolmen; but now he ventured to declaim more loudly against these abuses. In the heat of the dispute, he advanced some other doubtful propositions which he afterwards maintained, and supported with new arguments. The pope at length excommunicated him in 1520. He had tasted the pleasure of speaking his sentiments freely; he gave himself up to it afterwards without reserve, flung off his habit, and married Catharine Bore in 1525, after having brought over a great many princes to his party, to whom the spoils of the church lands were a tempting bait. The elector of Saxony was the first who embraced this new sect, which was afterwards adopted by the Palatinate, the countries of Hesse, Hanover, Brandenburg, Suabia, part of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, all Silesia, and the North. Its tenets are so well known, that it is needless here to relate them.

Soon after, *viz.* in 1533, Calvin appeared in France. This man's new scheme of religion was owing to the impressions he had received from one Wolmar, a German Lutheran, with whom he had got acquainted at Bourges. Notwithstanding the protection granted by Margaret queen of Navarre to this new doctrine, Calvin was several times obliged to quit France. He had made the greatest number of proselytes at Poitiers. This reformer, who was thoroughly acquainted with the genius of his countrymen, knew that they were easier persuaded by songs than arguments; for which reason he composed a ballad, the burden of which was, *O monks! O monks!*

monks ! you must all be married * ; and it met with surprising success. Calvin retired to Basil, where he printed his Institutes ; after which he made a convert of the duchess of Ferrara, daughter to Lewis XII. In 1532, he brought the city of Geneva intirely over to his opinions, and there he burnt Michael Servetus, who had declared against him. Tho' the reformed religion was never entirely tolerated in France, yet the civil wars it occasioned had like to have ruined that kingdom. Henry VIII. established this new worship in England. He had received of Leo. X. the title of Defender of the faith for writing against Luther ; but falling in love with Anne Bullen, he wanted to have his marriage with Catharine of Arragon dissolved ; and after solliciting Rome in vain, he dissolved it at length by his own authority. Clement VII. who succeeded Leo X. was so imprudent as to excommunicate him for marrying Anne Bullen ; for which reason Henry shook off the papal yoke in 1533, and declared himself head of the church of *England*. If we are therefore willing to reduce the causes of the reformation to simple principles, we shall find that in Germany it was owing to the love of gain, in England to that of a woman, in France to that of novelty, or perhaps of a song. We are not to imagine that either John Hufs, Luther, or Calvin, were men of superior genius. It is with the chiefs of sects, as with ambassadors : men of ordinary abilities succeed often better in their negotiations, provided they have advantageous conditions to offer. The reign of fanatics and reformers was in the ages of ignorance. But the hu-
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* *O moines ! O moines ! il faut vous marier.*

See Moreri's Dictionary, under the article *Calvin*.

man mind seems to be cloyed at length with disputes and controversies. The theologians and metaphysicians are now left to dispute by themselves in the schools; and since in protestant countries the clergy have no more to lose, the broachers of new sects meet with a very indifferent reception.

The elector Joachim II. gained then, by the communion in both kinds, the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebus, which he incorporated with the Marck.

He did not enter into the confederacy which the protestant princes made at Smalkald, in 1535, but he preserved tranquillity in his dominions, while Saxony and the neighbouring provinces were laid waste by the sword. The religious war commenced in 1546, and ended by the treaties of Passaw and Augsburg.

The emperor Charles V. had put himself at the head of the catholic party. The illustrious, but unfortunate John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Philip *the Magnanimous*, landgrave of Hesse, were the chiefs of the protestants; and these were defeated by the emperor near Muhlburg in Saxony. This prince, and cardinal Granville, made use of a base artifice to deceive the landgrave of Hesse. Charles V. thought himself authorized by the equivocal phrase of a safe conduct, to throw the landgrave into prison, where he passed a great part of his life. The elector Joachim, who had guaranteed that safe conduct, was so greatly provoked at this breach of faith, as to draw his sword in a passion against the duke of Alva*; but they were parted by the company. The elector of Saxony was deposed, and the electorate con-

* The emperor's ambassador at Berlin.

conferred by the emperor upon prince Maurice, who was of the Albertine line. However, Joachim did not comply with the emperor's famous edict, which was called the *interim*.

The emperor had given directions to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to lay siege to Magdeburg. This city surrendered after a siege of fourteen months; but the capitulation was so favourable to the inhabitants, that the emperor with great reluctance confirmed it. The bishop of Magdeburg being dead, the canons chose in his room Frederick, bishop of Havelberg, second son to the elector Joachim; and after his decease, the elector had credit enough to make them chuse his third son Sigismund, who was a protestant. It was this elector that built the fortress of Spandaw in 1555. The engineer's name was Giromela. They must indeed have been strangers in this country to all manner of arts, to have recourse to Italy for the smallest trifles. Margrave John, the elector's brother, had Custrin fortified at the same time. Very likely it was a fashion then to fortify towns; if they had a right notion of the use that may be made of them, there would have been no want of engineers.

Joachim II. obtained in 1569, of his brother-in-law Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, the right of succeeding to Albert Frederick of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, in case the latter died without issue; and bound himself by treaty to assist Poland with a certain number of troops, whenever it should be attacked. This prince's reign was mild and peaceable; he was accused of being liberal to a degree of excess; he died in 1571.

JOHN GEORGE.

John George inherited the same year the electorate from his father Joachim II. and the *New Marck* from his uncle the margrave John. As his reign was pacific, it comes in here only to connect the thread of the history. It is to be observed, that one of his wives was a princess of Lignitz, named Sophia. The branch of the margraves of Bareith and Anspach happening to be extinct, he divided that succession between his two younger sons, Christian and Ernest, from the former of whom springs the new stem of Bareith, from the latter that of Anspach. This elector died in 1598.

JOACHIM FREDERICK.

Joachim Frederick was fifty-two years of age, when he came to the electorate. During his father's life, he had enjoyed the bishopricks of Magdeburg, Havelberg, and Lebus; but upon his succeeding to John George, he resigned the archbishoprick of Magdeburg in favour of one of his sons, named Christian William. He had the administration of Prussia during the madness of duke Albert Frederick; and inherited the duchy of Jagerndorff, which he gave to one of his sons, named George, to indemnify him for the bishoprick of Strasburg, which he had been forced to resign. Successions in those days were often re-united, and as often divided; the bad policy of those princes frustrating every exertion of fortune in their favour.

Joachim Frederick was the first prince of the family

mily that established a council of state. I leave the reader to judge what kind of an administration, what justice, what management of the finances they must have had in those rude and unpolished days, when there were not even persons appointed to discharge those functions.

The elector undoubtedly perceived the necessity there was of providing for the education of youth; for it was with this view he founded the college of Joachim Stahl, which was designed to maintain and instruct a hundred and twenty persons. This college was removed afterwards by the great elector to Berlin. The poverty of the country, and the small circulation of specie, occasioned the sumptuary laws published by this elector. He died in 1608, aged 63.

JOHN SIGISMUND.

John Sigismund had been married at Königsberg in 1594, to Anne, only daughter of Albert duke of Prussia, who was heiress of that dukedom and of the succession of Cleves. This succession consisted of the countries of Juliers, Berg, Cleves, Marck, Ravensburg, and Ravenstein; too delicious a morsel not to tempt the avidity of those, who had the expectation of any share of it.

Before I speak of the rights of the electors of Brandenburg, and of the dukes of Newburg, it will be proper to explain the pretensions of Saxony, that I may not entangle the subject.

The emperor Maximilian had given the expectancy of this succession to the princes of the two lines of Saxony, namely, the Ernestine and the Albertine,
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in default of issue male and female of the dukes of Cleves. For the letters patent which George William, duke of Cleves, obtained of the emperor, plainly shew, that this fief descended to females. John Frederick, the last elector of Saxony of the Ernestine branch, married Sibylla, daughter of John III. duke of Juliers.

Duke William of Cleves, son to John of Juliers, married Ferdinand's daughter, niece to the emperor Charles V. This marriage, joined to the displeasure which the emperor had conceived against Frederick of Saxony, for siding with the confederacy of Smalkald, induced him to confirm to duke John William the right which he had of disposing of his succession in favour of his daughters, in default of male issue. This duke's son, who was named after him John William, died without issue in 1609; so the succession fell to his sisters.

The eldest was Mary-Eleonora, married to Albert Frederick, duke of Prussia.

The second, Agnes, was married to the prince Palatine of Neuburg.

The third, Magdalen, was wife to the count Palatine of Deux-ponts.

The fourth, Sibylla, was married to the count of Burgau, a prince of Austria.

These four princesses, and their children, laid claim to this succession.

The house of Saxony, besides its rights of expectancy, pleaded the marriage of the elector Frederick with the princess Sibylla, aunt to the deceased.

Mary Eleonora, wife of Albert duke of Prussia, grounded her rights on the marriage contract in 1572, in which it was expressly stipulated, that in
case

case her brother died without issue, she and her posterity should inherit the six duchies, in virtue of the fundamental pacts made in 1418 and 1496, by which the right of succession was granted to the eldest daughters. The duke of Prussia engaged to pay 200,000 florins to his wife's sisters, as an equivalent for all their pretensions. Had Mary-Eleonora been living at the time of her brother's decease, it is very probable there would have been no dispute about the matter; but being dead, her daughter Anne, wife to the elector John Sigismund, succeeded to her mother's rights. This inheritance ought therefore to have fallen to her, since she represented Mary-Eleonora, and this was the great point contested.

The pretensions of Anne, duchess of Neuberg, were founded on this, that as her sister Mary-Eleonora was dead, she succeeded to her rights, and of course was become the eldest sister, being a nearer relation than Anne of Brandenburg, who was only niece to the deceased. There was nothing but family compacts, and the marriage contract of Mary-Eleonora against these reasons.

The two younger sisters of duke John William did not demand the entire succession; they proposed only a partition.

But what absolutely annulled the right of those three younger sisters, was their having renounced all their rights in their marriage contract, as long as there should be any children living by their eldest sister.

The elector John Sigismund, and Wolfgang William, duke of Neuburg, agreed to put themselves in possession of the contested succession, with a reservation however of their respective rights. This convention

was forwarded by the conduct of the emperor Rodolph, who wanted to sequester the duchies belonging to this succession. In fact, the archduke Leopold was going to seize them, but was prevented by the protestant princes, who formed the famous alliance, known by the name of the *Union*, into which John Sigismund was one of the first that entered. In order to counteract this union, the catholic princes concluded a treaty of the like nature at Wurtzburg, which was called the league. The elector had the Dutch on his side, who were afraid of the imperial sequestration; and the duke of Neuburg was favoured by Henry IV. king of France; but at the very time this prince was preparing to assist him, he was assassinated by Ravillac*.

The elector had tried to come to an agreement with the duke of Neuburg; they had an interview for this purpose; but in the heat of dispute John Sigismund happening to give this prince a box on the ear, the conferences were broke off. By this specimen we may form a judgment of the politeness and manners of that time. In 1611 another accommodation was attempted at *Juterbock* with the elector of Saxony, concerning this same succession; but the princes were not to be there themselves, for interviews were become dangerous. The duke of Neuburg protested against that treaty, and it was never put in execution.

John Sigismund had the administration of Prussia, during the madness of his father-in-law duke Albert, in the same manner as Joachim-Frederick. He received also of Sigismund III. king of Poland, the investiture of Prussia, for himself and his descendents,

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which

* See Sully's Memoirs,

which was the third investiture that had been granted to the electoral family.

As Prussia was reunited by this prince to the house of Brandenburg, it will not be amiss to give here a concise account of the original state and government of this country, and in what manner it fell to duke Albert, the elector's father-in-law.

The word Prussia signifies *near the Russe*; the Russe is a branch of the river Niemen, which is now called Memel. Prussia was originally inhabited by Bohemians, Sarmatians, Russians, and Venedi. All these people were stupid idolaters, worshipping the gods of the forests, lakes, rivers, and even serpents and elks. Their rude and savage religion rendered them strangers to the elegance and magnificence of temples. The established worship of their principal idols, *Potrimpos*, *Percunos* and *Picolus*, was under oak trees, where they were set up at Ramowa and at *Heiligenbeil*. These people sacrificed the prisoners taken from their enemies to their false gods. S. Adelbert was the first who preached Christianity to the Prussians towards the year 1000, and received the crown of martyrdom. Crispus relates that three kings of Poland, who were all named Boleslaus, went to war with the Prussians, in order to convert them: but these people, grown skilful in war, ravaged Mazovia and Cujavia. Conrad, duke of Cujavia, called in the knights of the Teutonic order from Germany to his succour, whose grand master at that time (in 1239) was Herman of Saltza. He entered Prussia, and by the assistance of the Livonian knights, who were a kind of templars, he founded the four bishopricks of Culm, Pomesan, Ermeland, and Samland. The war between the Teutonic order

der and the Prussians lasted 53 years. Those knights were obliged afterwards to engage in other wars, in order to defend themselves either against Poland, or against the dukes of Pomerania, who were jealous of their establishment. Then it was that the families of the several knights began to settle in Prussia, from whom, in great part, the present nobility are descended.

Under the grand-master Conrad of Erlichhausen, and in the year 1458, the cities of Dantzick, Thorn and Elbing, declared to him, that as they were tired of his administration, they had transferred their allegiance to Casimir, son of Jagellon king of Poland. The war which then broke out between the knights and the Poles, concerning Prussia, lasted thirteen years; in which the Poles were victorious, and prescribed the law. Prussia on the hither side of the Vistula was annexed to that kingdom, and called Royal Prussia; the order kept the further Prussia, but was obliged to pay homage for it to the conquerors.

In 1510, Albert of Brandenburg was chosen grand master of the order. This was the great grandson of Albert *the Achilles*, as we have already observed. The new grand master, desirous of vindicating the honour of the order, undertook a new war against the Poles, in which he was very successful; for he was created duke of Prussia by Sigismund I. king of Poland, who rendered that dignity hereditary to this prince, and to his descendents. Albert in return was only obliged to do homage to Poland.

Albert, now master of the further Prussia, flung off the habit, the cross, and arms of the Teutonic order. The knights behaved on this occasion as the weakest commonly do, protesting against what was

not in their power to hinder. The new duke had a war to maintain in 1563 against Eric duke of Brunswick, and commander of Memel. Eric entered Prussia at the head of twelve thousand men; but was stopt by Albert on the banks of the Vistula. As nothing remarkable happened in this expedition, and both sides of the river were covered with soldiers, who employed their time in gathering nuts, it was called the *war of the nuts*. Albert turned protestant in 1519, and Prussia followed his example. His son Frederick-Albert succeeded him in 1568. This prince received the investiture from king Sigismund-Augustus, to which the envoy of the elector Joachim II. greatly contributed. It was this Albert-Frederick that married Mary-Eleonora, daughter of John William, and sister of the last duke of Cleves. John Sigismund was son-in-law, and guardian to this duke of Prussia, by whose death, in 1618, he entered into the intire possession of this duchy. This elector had embraced the sect of Calvin in the year 1614, to please the inhabitants of the country of Cleves, who were to become his subjects. The emperor Rodolph II. died during the administration of this elector; and the electoral college chose Matthias, brother of the deceased, in his stead. The elector finding himself broken with old age and infirmities, resigned the government to his son George-William, and died not long after.

GEORGE-WILLIAM.

George-William came to the electorate in 1619, and had a most unfortunate reign. The dominions of this weak prince were ravaged during the whole course

course of the thirty years war, the traces of which are to this very day discernible in Germany. All the miseries that can afflict a country fell upon the electorate of Brandenburg. A sovereign incapable of governing; a minister, who was a traitor to his country*; a war, or rather a general ransacking and plundering; an inundation of armies, some friends, some foes, but all equally barbarous, destructive, and cruel; armies, that tossing to and fro like the waves of the sea, exhausted these provinces by their flux and reflux, never withdrawing till they had laid every thing waste, and compleated the desolation of the country.

This fatality, which seemed to persecute the elector, extended to all his relations. George-William was married to the daughter of the elector Palatine Frederick IV. and sister to the unfortunate Frederick V. king of Bohemia, who was defeated at Weissenberg, stripped of the Palatinate, and put under the ban of the empire. The emperor Ferdinand II. confiscated the duchy of Jagerndorff; because the duke, who was uncle to George-William, had espoused the cause of Frederick V. This duchy the emperor gave to the princes of Lichtenstein, who are still in possession of it. The elector protested as much as he pleased, but no notice was taken of him. His uncle, the administrator of Magdeburg, was dispossessed, and put under the ban of the empire, for entering into the league of Lauenburg, and concluding an alliance with the king of Denmark. At that time the emperor was almost despotic.

The truce which had been concluded between Spain and Holland in 1621, for twelve years, was now expired. The seat of war was removed to the

* The count of Schwartzenberg, Stadtholder of the Marck.

vinces of the disputed succession of Cleves. The Spaniards made themselves masters of Juliers, which the Dutch held for the elector; and Cleves and Lipstadt surrendered to Spinola. The Dutch, indeed, some years afterwards, in 1629, drove the Spaniards out of the country of Cleves, and retook some towns for the elector. At length George-William and the duke of Neuburg prevailed on the Spaniards in 1630 to evacuate in some measure the provinces of the succession; the Dutch garisoned the towns belonging to the elector, and the Spaniards those belonging to the duke. But this convention did not last long; for the war broke out again in those provinces in 1635, with greater fury than ever. I shall only observe, that during the whole administration of this elector, the country of Cleves was a prey to the Spaniards and the Dutch, who made themselves masters of different posts, took towns by surprise, and gained and lost several advantages over each other; but came to no decisive engagement. The contributions raised by the generals, and the pillaging of the foldiers, constituted at that time the principal part of the military art.

Tho' the emperor pretended to assume an absolute sovereignty over the empire, still the several princes were strenuous in opposing his encroachments, with a resolution that sometimes put a stop to them; and they entered into confederacies that alarmed the court of Vienna. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony interceded with the emperor for their colleague, the elector Palatine; and refused to acknowledge the elector Maximilian of Bavaria, whom Ferdinand II. had raised to this dignity, in prejudice to the Palatine family, and contrary to the laws of the empire.

For,

For, according to the *Golden Bull*, which is considered as a fundamental law, no elector can be put under the ban of the empire, nor stripped of his dignity; without the unanimous consent of the diet in body assembled. However, the good offices of these electors had no effect.

At length the progress of the reformation, which dividing Germany, had given birth to two powerful parties, occasioned a war. The protestant princes entered into a confederacy at Lauenburg, to maintain the free exercise of their religion. Christian IV. king of Denmark, the dukes of Brunswick Lüneburg, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Christian-William, administrator of Magdeburg, all joined in this alliance. The emperor took umbrage at this and sent general Tilly in 1625 into the circle of Lower Saxony, at the head of 12,000 men. Tilly sat down before Hall, and tho' the town surrendered without any resistance, he gave it up to the soldiers to pillage. At the same time Wallenstein, with another army of 12,000 men marched into the provinces of Halberstadt and Magdeburg. The states of Lower Saxony desired to be reconciled to the emperor; but their proposals did not hinder Wallenstein and Tilly from invading the abovementioned provinces. Christian-William, administrator of Magdeburg, was deposed*; the chapter chose another in his stead, and nominated Augustus, the elector of Saxony's son, coadjutor. In the mean while, the administrator joined his troops with those which the king of Denmark had in Lower Saxony. Christian-William and Mansfeld, who commanded this army, attacked Wallstein at the bridge of Dessau, and were

* The emperor had designed this benefice for his son.

entirely routed ; after their defeat, they escaped into the marquisate of Brandenburg, which they plundered. Tilly routed another body of Danish troops at Lutter in Lower Saxony. The neighbourhood and successes of the Imperialists, obliged George-William to comply with the emperor's desire, and to acknowledge the elector Maximilian of Bavaria.

The king of Denmark, who had now repaired his losses, took the field the year following, in 1626, with two armies, one commanded by himself in person, and the other by the administrator. But he durst not present himself before Tilly, who had garrisoned Brandenburg, Ratenow, Havelberg, and Perleberg.

Mansfeld assembled the shattered remains of his army, and ventured to march into the country of Brandenburg against the consent of the elector. The Imperialists sent a detachment of 7000 men against him, who were afterwards joined by 800 of George-William's forces, under the orders of colonel Craght : these passed the Werthe, and soon dispersed Mansfeld's fugitive troops. By these feeble succours, we find that the elector had hardly any army on foot.

The Imperialists, making a proper use of their advantages, garrisoned all Pomerania, under pretext of securing Germany against any attempt from the Swedes ; but the real motive, perhaps, was because Bogislaus, the last duke of Pomerania, had left the succession of his dominions after his death to the elector of Brandenburg, who had already the expectancy of them. Walstein laid siege to the town of Stralsund, but was obliged to raise it, with the loss of 12000 men. Stralsund entered into an alliance with

with the king of Sweden, and admitted a garison of 900 Swedes.

About this very time, the emperor published his famous edict of restitution, in which he enjoined the protestant princes to restore to the church the lands they had seized since the treaty of Passaw. This would have been a terrible blow to the protestant princes. The house of Brandenburg, in particular, would have lost by it the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Havelberg and Lebus. This was the signal which once more set the protestants and catholics together by the ears. Ferdinand II. wanted to fish in troubled waters, and to appropriate to himself the archbishoprick of Magdeburg; but Wallstein was obliged to rise from before that town after a siege of twenty-eight weeks.

The elector went in person to Warsaw, in the year 1626, to receive the investiture of Prussia. A new war broke out at that time in those quarters. Sigismund III. king of Poland, formed pretensions against the kingdom of Sweden, at that time governed by Gustavus Adolphus. Gustavus, in order to be beforehand with his enemy, marched into Prussia, took fort Pillaw in 1628, and made a considerable progress in Livonia and Polish Prussia. This prince made a truce for six years with the Poles, which was signed at Dantzick in 1629, where he was himself in person; in this the elector was comprehended, and afterwards they extended it to twenty-six years.

The king of Sweden had formed a design of entering Germany, in order to reap some advantage from the troubles of that country, which had been so greatly increased by the emperor's edict of restitution. Gustavus published a kind of a manifesto, setting forth the

the grievances he had received from the emperor. His subjects of complaint were these : that the emperor had assisted the king of Poland with 10,000 men ; that he had deposed his ally, the duke of Mecklenburg ; and that he had used the town of Stralsund very ill, with which he was in alliance. Immediately upon this declaration, all the ports of Pomerania were blocked up by the Swedish fleet. Who-soever considers these reasons, will not find them more solid than those which Charles II. king of England, made use of in his declaration of war against the Dutch. One of the principal grievances of the English was, that Mess. de Witt had a scandalous * picture in their houses. Must such frivolous reasons as these be given for the devastation of provinces ; and human blood be thus wantonly spilt, to satisfy the fancy and capricious whims of a single man ?

It was in the year 1630 that all the calamities, which had hitherto menaced the electorate, of Brandenburg, broke out, and the storms that roared in the neighbourhood, all joined to destroy this miserable country. Wallstein, who had taken up his quarters in the elector's territories, raised most exorbitant contributions on them : Surprising ! that the Imperial armies should thus severely treat a country, whose prince was closely united to the emperor. It is easy to judge of the situation of the elector George-William at that time, by his answer to Ferdinand II. who invited him to the diet of Ratisbon. He says : *The Marck is so greatly exhausted, as to be incapable of sup'ying my ordinary expences,*
much

* This is said to have been the picture of a sea-fight, in which the Dutch had been victorious over the English.

much less those of a journey of that kind. The regiments of Pappenheim and St Julian were quartered in the middle Marck, which they drained of 300,000 crowns in sixteen months. The silver mark at that time was nine crowns; at present it is twelve; so that this sum would now amount to 400,000 crowns. It is said that Wallstein drew from the whole electorate the sum of 2000000 of florins, which in our present specie, would make 1,777,777 crowns. This account appears to me exaggerated, and I believe it would be no mistake to abate two thirds of the sum.

In the mean while Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany, and made a descent upon the isle of Rugen, from whence he dislodged the Imperialists by the help of the strong garison which he had at Stralsund. At the approach of the Swedish army, the emperor gave notice to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, to furnish provisions and ammunition to his troops, promising in return to moderate the edict of restitution in their favour. While the diet was assembled at Ratisbon, Gustavus made himself master of Pomerania, threw a Swedish garison into Stettin, and chased Torquato Conti, who commanded the Imperial troops, from this duchy.

This king concluded a treaty with the duke of Pomerania, by which it was stipulated, that if, after his decease, the succession of that country should be disputed with the elector of Brandenburg, or if Sweden was not intirely indemnified for the expences of the war, this province should be sequestered into the king's hands. The Imperialists, driven from Pomerania by the Swedes, retired into the New
Marck

Marck, and drew up in a body towards Frankfort on the Oder.

At the approach of the Swedish army, the elector raised some intrenchments in a hurry before the gates of Berlin, where he planted a few cannon, and obliged the burghers to mount guard; an evident sign that he had no regular troops in the town.

The city of Magdeburg joined with the Swedes, and promised them the passage over their bridge on the Elbe. The troops of this city drove the Imperialists out of their country; but Tilly returned with his army, subdued the whole country, and blockaded the city.

The protestants held an assembly at Leipstick in 1631, where they entered into debates concerning their respective interests. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony came to a resolution to stand by the emperor, and to summon their arrier-ban, in order to oppose the Swedes.

In the mean while Gustavus traversed the Marck, to assist the duke of Mecklenburg. This prince, who was both the politician and the soldier, made his troops observe an exact discipline during their march; and he endeavoured to bring the protestants over to his interests, by declaring solemnly wherever he came, that he had entered Germany with no other view than to rescue the princes from the yoke which the emperor wanted to impose upon them, and to defend their religious liberties. He entered into an alliance at the same time with Lewis XIII. king of France, who had the same interest as himself to reduce the power of the emperor. This treaty was concluded at Berwald.

Tilly left a body of troops to continue the blockade.

kade of Magdeburg, and joining the Imperialists at Frankfort on the Oder, he traversed the Marck to attack the Swedes, who had over-run the duchy of Mecklenburg ; but the fortune of Gustavus prevailed over that of the Imperial general. The king of Sweden marched from the duchy of Mecklenburg to Schwet, where he passed the Oder, and laid siege to Frankfort, in which there was an Imperial garison of 7000 men. He carried the town by storm, where he found a numerous train of artillery ; and having afterwards made himself master of Lansberg and Crossen, he turned short all of a sudden, and marched his army towards Berlin, in order to relieve Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly in person.

As soon as Gustavus arrived at Copenic, he sent a message to the elector, desiring him to put the fortresses of Spandaw and Cultrin into his hands, in order to secure a retreat, in case of any misfortune. The elector, surpris'd at so extraordinary a demand, was incapable of coming to any resolution. A proposal was therefore made of an interview between those two princes. Accordingly they met in a little wood, about a quarter of a mile from Berlin ; where the elector found Gustavus-Adolphus guarded by a thousand foot, and four pieces of cannon. Here the king renewed the same proposals to the elector, who not being able to come to an immediate determination in this difficult dilemma, desired half an hour to consult with his ministers, which was agreed to. In the mean while the Swedish monarch entertained himself with the princesses and the ladies of the court : but as the elector, after all these deliberations, could come to no conclusion, he invited the king to go with him to Berlin. Gustavus consented,
and

and entered the city with his thousand Swedes, two hundred of whom mounted guard at the castle of Berlin. The rest of the soldiers were quartered upon the burghers. The day following, the whole Swedish army came and encamped in the neighbourhood of this capital; and the elector, perceiving himself no longer master of his own residence, acquiesced to whatever Gustavus desired. The Swedish garisons of the fortresses of Spandaw and Custrin took the oath of fidelity to the elector; and the king gave his word, that he would give up those fortresses again to the troops of Brandenburg, as soon as he should have no further occasion for them. Things being thus settled, Gustavus advanced beyond Potzdam; upon whose approach the Imperialists, who were in possession of Brandenburg and Ratenaw, retired, and joined the army that formed the siege of Magdeburg. The king sent to the elector of Saxony, to desire a passage over the Elbe, at the bridge of Wittenberg; but it was refused him, which hindered him from relieving Magdeburg.

This city, which Tilly and Papenheim had not been able to take by force, was surpris'd at length by stratagem. The Imperialists entered into a negotiation with the city of Magdeburg, by the interposition of the Hans-towns, and propos'd some advantageous conditions. During the conferences, they affected to leave off firing on the town; this deceived the Magdeburghers; whose vigilance was relaxed by this false security. For most of the burghers, who had been on guard all night upon the ramparts, went off towards morning. Papenheim, who had carried his approaches as far as the counterscarp of the ditch, took notice of this neglect, and made a
pro-

proper use of it ; he ordered the town to be assailed in four places at once, and made himself master of the ramparts, without any great resistance. The Croats marched along the Elbe, which at that time was very low, and passing the river, attacked the works on the other side. Upon this alarm, the garison and burghers drew up in a hurry in the public squares ; but Tilly, having made himself master of the cannon of the ramparts, ordered them to be pointed directly against the streets ; and the Imperial troops pouring in at the same time in great numbers, it was in vain for the inhabitants to make any further resistance. Thus this city, which had been one of the most flourishing in Germany, was unfortunately given up to the fury of the soldiers, who ransacked and plundered it during the space of three days.

All that the most unbridled licentiousness and villany can invent, when men abandon themselves to their fury, was committed by those soldiers, who had been let loose to glut their barbarous cruelty. These inhuman plunderers put almost all the inhabitants to the sword ; only fourteen hundred, who had retired into the cathedral, and to whom Tilly gave quarters, were saved. After the pillage and massacre were over, they set the town on fire, and in a few hours the private houses and public edifices were reduced to a heap of ashes and ruins, like those of Troy. In the whole town scarce 140 houses were preserved. It is said on this occasion, that no less than twelve hundred maidens drowned themselves in the Elbe, to preserve their chastity from the dangers to which the violence of the soldiers might have exposed it. These examples are fine, but uncommon ; and if to us they appear fabulous, it is owing either to the corruption

ruption of our morals, or to the want of sufficient authority to ascertain the fact.

After the taking of Magdeburg, Gustavus came and encamped a second time in the neighbourhood of Berlin. He was provoked at having miscarried in his design, and laid the blame upon the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. The king ordered his artillery to be planted against the town, and at the same time demanded a passage for his army. George-William sent the electress, and all the princesses of his court to the Swedish camp, to try to pacify this monarch, and came himself soon after: he granted, as it may well be imagined, every article the king demanded. Upon the elector's return, the king ordered him to be saluted by a discharge of his artillery. But as they forgot to turn them towards the fields, a great number of houses and roofs were damaged by the cannon balls: this indeed was a civility a little of the Gothic and Herulian order. The day following the army defiled through the town, and passed the Spree.

The elector excused his conduct to the emperor, by alledging his incapacity of resisting the violence offered him by a foreign prince. Ferdinand answered him dryly, that the Swedish troops would not spare the Marcks more than the Imperialists had done. The elector of Saxony, perceiving the success of the Swedish arms, embraced the side which fortune favoured, and set an example to all the protestant princes. The Swedes restored Spandaw and Custrin to the elector, and over-run all Lower Saxony. They entered the old Marck, where the king possessed himself of the camp of Werben, which was vastly strong, by its situation at the conflux of the
Havel

Havel and the Elbe. Tilly, being uneasy about Papenheim, who had been obliged to shut himself up in Magdeburg, quitted Thuringia to march to his relief, and advanced towards the Swedish camp. The good genius of this prince, which favoured all his undertakings, suggested to him a scheme for surprising a vanguard of three regiments, which the Austrian general had detached too far from the main body of the army. Accordingly he surprised them, cut them in pieces, and returned to his camp at Werben. Tilly, in hopes to wipe off this disgrace, wanted to attack the Swedes in their camp; but the situation appeared to him so strong, and the dispositions of the enemy to receive him so good, that he durst not venture it. Being obliged to retire for want of provisions, he marched to Hall, with an intention of taking Leipfick, and of obliging the elector of Saxony to renounce his engagements with the Swedes. Gustavus, aware of his design, quitted his strong camp at Werben, passed the Elbe at Wittenberg, joined the Saxons at Duben, and fell upon the Imperialists, whom he totally defeated in the neighbourhood of Leipfick. Among the numerous artillery which the king took in that battle, there were several pieces marked with the arms of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Brunswick, which the Imperialists had appropriated to themselves by the right of convenience. Tilly, after the loss of six thousand men upon the spot, was obliged to fly, and collected the remains of his shattered army in Thuringia. We shall not follow the Swedes in the course of their victories: it is sufficient to mention, that Gustavus was become the arbiter of Germany, by penetrating as far as the Danube; while Bannier, with another body of

troops, made himself master of the open country round Magdeburg, where the Imperialists had still a strong garison. The Swedes, who were now masters, established a regency in the provinces of Magdeburg and Halberstadt.

At the beginning of the year 1632 died Sigismund king of Poland; and Uladislaus was chosen to fill the vacant throne. The Swedes did not sleep over their laurels, but came to lay siege to Magdeburg. Papenheim, who was in the duchy of Brunswick, flew to the assistance of the Imperialists; and Bannier raised the siege upon his approach. But the duke of Lunenburg having entered into the alliance of Leipstick, came with a fine army to join the Swedes. Papenheim finding himself then too weak to resist those united forces, evacuated the city of Magdeburg, abandoned the open country, and retired into Westphalia and Franconia, whither the enemy followed him. The Swedes took possession of Magdeburg; and the few that remained of the ancient inhabitants began to repair the ruins of their country, and to rebuild their habitations.

The emperor being grown more gentle by the ill success of his arms, began to tamper with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in order to draw them off from their Swedish alliance; but his endeavours proved unsuccessful. George-William went even so far as to send some small succours to the Saxons, who were in pursuit of a body of Imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by Balthasar de Maradas. The emperor, provoked at this irruption into Silesia, and desirous to shew his resentment for the denial which had been given him by those two electors, sent an army, under the command of Walstein, to seize

on their electorates. Papenheim left Westphalia to join Wallstein; and these generals taking advantage of the absence of the king of Sweden, who was then in Bavaria, made themselves masters of Leip-
sick, Naumburg, Mersburg, Hall, and Gibichinstein. Lower Saxony would have been ravaged anew, if the king of Sweden had not flown to its assistance. He came, he died, and dying won the famous battle of Latzen. The Swedes, tho' conquerors, looked upon themselves as beaten, having their hero no longer at their head; and the Imperialists, though beaten, thought themselves victorious, having no longer Gustavus Adolphus to dread. After the death of Turenne, the French army retreated, and repassed the Rhine; after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedes drove the Imperialists out of Lower Saxony; and all towns which had been taken by Wallstein, were retaken by the elector of Saxony in 1633. Oxenstiern had after this the direction of affairs in Germany; and the Swedes concluded an alliance at Heilbrun, with the circles of Franconia, Suabia, the Upper and Lower Rhine.

Tho' the elector did not join in the alliance of Heilbrun, yet he made some efforts in favour of the common cause, by sending a few succours to Arnheim, who commanded the Saxon troops in Silesia. The elector's whole forces at that time consisted of no more than 3000 horse and 5000 foot. At the approach of Wallstein and Galas he called a kind of arrierban, or rather a general rising of all his subjects.

Wallstein entered Silesia at the head of an army of 45000 men, and amused Arnheim with feigned proposals of accommodation. He seemed to threaten Saxony: Arnheim was deceived by this stratagem;

for while he covered that electorate, the Imperial general turned unexpectedly towards the bridge of Steinaw, where he defeated 800 Swedes; after which he retook Franckfort, and sent out parties that ravaged Pomerania and the Marck. He summoned Berlin to bring him the keys; but hearing at the same time that Bernard of Weimar had taken Ratibon, and that nine thousand Saxons and Brandenburgers, were advancing towards him, he abandoned all his projects. Berlin was covered by Arnhem and Bannier; and Wallstein retired into Silesia, leaving a strong garison in Frankfort and some other towns.

Oxenstiern having found his advantage in the alliance which he had concluded at Heilbrun in 1634, with the four circles, proposed another of the same nature to the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony. It was concluded at Halberstadt; and the principal contracting parties were the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. This Swedish minister pulled off the mask at the assembly of Frankfort on the Main, where he proposed to the states, without any kind of disguise, to yield Pomerania to Sweden after the death of the last duke, as an indemnity for the expences which that crown had been at to support the Protestant interest in Germany. The elector of Brandenburg was highly irritated at this proposal. It was indeed too precipitate; nor should Oxenstiern have made it, till conjunctures had been so favourable as to permit him to oppose openly the pretensions of George-William, without endangering the interests of Sweden. In the mean while the elector, with the assistance of the Swedish troops, found himself at the head of 20000 men, scarce the sixth part of

of whom belonged to him. The names of the regiments of Brandenburg that were in that army, are these ; Borisdorff, Wolckmann, Francis Lauenburg, Conrad Borisdorff, and Ehrenreich Borisdorff. He took Frankfort on the Oder, where the garison consisting of 1000 men were allowed to march out by capitulation ; and the Imperial garison of Crossen marched out with white sticks in their hands. But these small successes were sufficiently counter-balanced by the news he received, that the archduke Ferdinand and the Cardinal infant had gained a compleat victory over the Swedes at Nordlingen. The elector of Saxony could not bear that Oxenstiern should have the direction of the affairs of Germany preferable to himself ; and George-William was greatly incensed at the proposal made by Oxenstiern at the assembly of Frankfort.

These pacific dispositions produced a very speedy effect. The emperor, desirous of dividing Germany that had been leagued against him, laid hold of the opportunity with eagerness, and a peace was concluded at Prague the 20th of March in the year 1635. The conditions were, that the elector of Saxony's second son should continue administrator of Magdeburg, and that the four bailiwicks dismembred from that archbishoprick * should be left to Saxony. The elector of Brandenburg had assurances given him, that his rights to Pomerania should be maintained ; and the emperor engaged, not to reclaim the church lands possessed by the protestants, and to confirm the pacts of confraternity between the houses of Brandenburg, Saxony and Hesse.

After the conclusion of this peace, the Saxon and

* Querfurt, Joterbock, Bock, and Damme.

Imperial troops cleared the country of Halberstadt and Magdeburg of the Swedes by whom it was still infested; but the capital held out for the the Swedes. The duchy of Mecklenburg, the Old Marck, and Pomerania, were exposed anew to the calamities of war; the Swedes made incursions as far as Oranienburg, and the Saxons and Imperialists extended themselves along the banks of the Elbe and the Havel.

Bannier, whose attention was fixt upon preserving Pomerania for the crown of Sweden, assembled his troops at Ratenaw, and marched by Wittenberg to Hall, in order to keep off the war from the frontiers of Pomerania, and at the same time to relieve the Swedish garison that was straitened at Magdeburg. The elector of Saxony marched with all expedition into Misnia, where he joined the Imperial troops commanded by Morosini. The seat of war was confined for a while to the banks of the Sale; but at length the Saxons obliged Bannier to retire, and the Imperialists became masters once more of Magdeburg. Bannier retreated into the country of Lunenburg, and from thence into the Marck. Here he was joined by Wrangel, with a reinforcement of 8000 men; upon which they surpris'd Brandenburg, and carried Ratenaw by storm, where there was an Imperial garison. Thus this poor electorate was a prey to the first comer, ransacked, pillaged, and laid waste alike by foe and friend. All the towns along the Havel were pillaged twice by the Swedes, and once by the Imperialists, in less then six weeks. This devastation was universal; the country, properly speaking, was not ransacked, but utterly destroyed.

Such was the unhappy fate of the Marck, that fortune seem'd determin'd to perpetuate the war, by
never

never declaring himself entirely in favour of one side. The Swedes unexpectedly resumed their superiority. Bannier gained a victory at Wittstock over the Imperialists and Saxons; the vanquished troops never halted till they got to Leipfick; the Swedes improved their advantages, and again over-ran the Marck. Wrangel came before Berlin, where he put a garifon of five companies, and insisted again upon the elector's delivering up his fortresses. George-William, who was at Peitz, made answer that he was entirely at the discretion of the Swedes; but as his fortresses were garifoned by Imperial troops, it was not in his power to do as he pleased. Wrangel then quartered his army in the New Marck.

The emperor Ferdinand II. the tyrant and oppressor of Germany, died at length in 1637, and his son Ferdinand III. who was already king of the Romans, succeeded him, as if this throne had been hereditary. During these troubles died Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, whose family had been possessed of this duchy 700 years, and in him that family became extinct. As the Swedes were masters of Pomerania, and even of the electorate itself, the elector was unable to assert his rights; he was satisfied with sending a trumpet to the states of Pomerania, ordering them to fall upon the Swedes. This extraordinary embassy had no effect; and I believe it is the only instance in history of a trumpet's having been charged with the like commission.

In the mean while the Imperialists, under the command of Hatzfeld and Morosini, drove Bannier out of Saxony, pursued him beyond Schwet, and retook Landsberg. At the same time Klitzing, the Saxon general, cleared the Marck and the banks

of the Havel, by driving away the Swedes. The war, which continually shifted from one province to another, was removed again to Pomerania; and the Imperialists received a reinforcement of three thousand Hungarians. These, I believe, were the first of that nation, that were ever employed by the Imperialists out of their own country. Pomerania underwent the same fate as the Marck; and being exposed to the same incursions, was taken, retaken, burnt, and destroyed.

In 1638 the Swedes received a reinforcement, which seemed to come only to perpetuate the war, with all the horrors that attend it. They drove the Imperialists and Saxons out of Pomerania, broke into the Marck, burnt Bernaw, defeated 7000 Saxons commanded by Morosini, and obliged Galas, the Imperial general, to fly before them as far as Bohemia. Notwithstanding this reverse of fortune, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony continued firmly united to the emperor.

Thus the Swedes appeared in 1639, for the fourth time, before the gates of Berlin. The Brandenburgers however made an unexpected diversion upon them, by falling upon Livonia with 4000 men from Prussia; but as they neglected to make themselves masters of some of the strong-holds, they were obliged to relinquish their conquests, and the expedition came to nothing. The Swedes revenged themselves upon the Marck for their losses in Livonia; for when they drew near to Berlin, the garison, which consisted only of 400 men, retired; and the town immediately surrendered; they likewise surpris'd 1500 Brandenburgers at Bernaw, who were under the command of Borsdorff. Devitz directed his march
towards

towards Silesia, and Bannier fell to plundering again the electorate of Saxony and the country of Halberstadt.

Axelille, who commanded at Berlin in 1640, kept Spandaw closely blocked up, but was less strict in the blockade of Cultrin, where the elector had retired for shelter; the ravages and extortions of the Swedes were almost incredible. The states of Pomerania held their assembly, to which the elector sent his deputies. The resolutions of these states were not favourable to the Swedes; and the elector's commissaries took place as representatives of the duke of Wolgast and Stettin, at the diet of Ratisbon. The same year George-William took a journey into Prussia, in order to convene the states at Koningsberg, and to demand of them the arrears of some subsidies due to him; but he died there the third of December, leaving to his son Frederick-William a desolate country, void of all resource either in troops or money.

We cannot, without offending the laws of equity, charge George-William with all the misfortunes that happened to him. He was guilty however of two very capital mistakes. One was his not raising an army of 20000 men, which he was able to maintain, and which would have enabled him to support his rights to the succession of Cleves, and might have been still more usefully employed in the defence of his country: the other was his placing so unlimited a confidence in his minister the count of Schwartzenberg, who had sold himself to the Imperial court, and whose ambitious views tended even to render himself master of the Marck. The complication of odd conjunctures this prince was in left him only the

the liberty of chusing the least of two evils. He was under a necessity of chusing between the Imperialists and the Swedes, which he would prefer as friends or masters. The edict of restitution, the designs of the Imperial court upon Magdeburg, and liberty of conscience, ought naturally to have inspired George-William with an aversion to Ferdinand II. but by joining with the king of Sweden, whose intention was to acquire Pomerania, he became subservient to his enemy in depriving himself of his just inheritance. On the one hand he was greatly displeas'd with the emperor's severity, which induced him to listen to the insuating artifices of the Swedes; and on the other, he was provok'd at the Swedish usurpations, which made him apply to the court of Vienna for succour. This ticklish situation was the cause of his changing sides continually, and joining with the strongest; and the inconstancy of fortune, which alternately favour'd the Swedes and Imperialists, did not give his allies even time to protect him.

FREDERICK-WILLIAM,
surnamed THE GREAT.

Frederick-William was born at Berlin the 6th of February 1620. He was surnamed the Great, and was really so. He was a prince that may be said to have been formed by heaven, to redress by his vigilance and activity the disorder and confusion into which his territories had been thrown by the indolence of the preceding reign; to be the restorer and defender of his country; and the glory and honour of his family. Nature seem'd by mistake to have united in his person the soul of a great king, with the moderate fortune

tune of an elector: and indeed his spirit was much superior to his station. Europe in him beheld a prince, whose actions displayed the noble soul, and the superior genius; one while tempered by prudence, another time bearing that character of enthusiasm, which forces our admiration: a prince, who constantly repaired his losses, without foreign succours; who formed all his projects himself, and put them in execution: who by his wisdom retrieved a desolate country; by his policy and prudence acquired new territories; by his valour assisted his allies, and defended his people: a prince, in fine, who was equally great in all his undertakings.

Frederick-William was twenty years of age, when he came to the administration. His education was like that of Philoctetes; he understood how to conquer, at an age when the generality of mankind seek only for amusements. He had learnt the military art under Frederick-Henry, prince of Orange; and was present at the sieges of fort Schenck and Breda. Count Schwartzberg, minister to George-William, who was uneasy to see, in the character of this young prince, the early sparkles of that fire which afterwards made so bright a flame, kept him at as much distance as he could from the court, being convinced that his conduct would not bear the examination of so vigilant an inspector. The young prince nevertheless returned to his father, in spite of the minister, and went with him to Prussia, where by the decease of George-William he took possession of his hereditary dominions.

But this succession was in great part in the hands of the Swedes; who had reduced the electorate of Brandenburg to a frightful desert; where towns were traced only by rubbish and ruins, and villages by
heaps

heaps of ashes, which hindered the grafs from growing.

Nor were the duchies of Cleves, and of the Marck, more happy; the produce of these provinces was divided between the Spaniards and the Dutch, who plundered them alternately, by raising exorbitant contributions, under a pretence of defending them.

Prussia, which had been seized by Gustavus-Adolphus, was still bleeding of the wounds it had received from the war. Under these desperate circumstances Frederick-William began his reign: though he was a prince without territories, an elector without power, a successor without inheritance, and just in the flower of his youth; an age which, exposed to the vivacity of passions, renders mankind almost incapable of direction; yet he gave marks of the most consummate wisdom, and of every virtue that could render him worthy of command.

He regulated his finances, proportioned his expences to his revenues, and got rid of those ignorant or corrupt ministers, who had contributed to the misery of his people. The count of Schwartzenberg was the first whom he dismissed: this count was great commander of Malta, governor of the Marck, president of the council, and great chamberlain. And if there had been any other more important employments, he would have had them all; for both the council and court of George-William were concentered in one person. This count, who had sold himself to the house of Austria, returned to Vienna, where he died the same year.

After the death of Schwartzenberg, the elector sent baron Borgsdorff to Spandaw and Custrin, to set his seal to the effects of the deceased. The governors

governors of those two fortresses refused to obey him, under a pretence that they durst not do it without exprefs orders from the emperor, to whom they had taken the oaths of fidelity. Borgsdorff dissembling the insolence of this behaviour, lay in wait for Rochow, governor of Spandaw, and secured him, as he imprudently came out of the fortress. The elector ordered this rebel to be beheaded; upon which the governors of his other fortresses returned to their duty.

Frederick-William received in person the investiture of Prussia in 1641, from the hands of Ladislaus king of Poland. The elector engaged to pay an annual tribute of 120,000 florins to that crown, and to make neither peace nor truce with her enemies.

Baron de Leben received, in his name, in 1642, the investiture of the electorate, of the emperor Ferdinand III. but he could not obtain that of the duchy of Cleves, because this succession was still in litigation.

After having discharged this kind of duties, he turned his thoughts towards easing his people, being desirous of delivering his territories from that miserable situation into which they had been plunged. By his negotiations he entered into the possession of his dominions that were withheld from him; and he concluded a truce for twenty years with the Swedes *, who evacuated the greatest part of the Marcks of Brandenburg. He paid the Swedish garisons, who were still in possession of some towns, 140,000 crowns, which amounts to near 200,000 of our present money, and a thousand bushels of corn a year. He concluded a treaty in 1644 with the Hessians, who re-

stored

* At Stockholm; Gotze and Leuchtman were his envoys.

stored to him part of the duchy of Cleves, which had been in their possession; and he prevailed upon the Dutch to evacuate some other towns.

The powers of Europe, who now began to feel the weight of a long and ruinous war, gave ear at length to proposals of peace. The cities of Munster and Osnabrug were pitched upon as proper places for opening the conferences; and the elector sent his ministers thither.

The great variety of subjects that were to be debated, the complication of causes, the multitude of sovereigns who were to be pleased, the different pretensions upon the same provinces, religion, pre-eminences, the settling the proper bounds of the Imperial authority, and of the Germanic liberty; all this perplexed chaos kept the ministers employed till the year 1647, when they agreed upon the principal articles.

It is not at all necessary to copy here the treaty of Westphalia, on which a laborious author has wrote a learned and useful treatise; I shall be satisfied with giving such heads of it as any way relate to the history of Brandenburg.

France having espoused the interests of Sweden, insisted upon Pomerania as an indemnity for the expences which Gustavus-Adolphus and his successors had been at to maintain the war; but the elector and the empire refused to give their consent. Frederick-William at length agreed to yield to the Swedes the Hither Pomerania, the isles of Rugen and Wollin, the cities of Stettin, Gartz, and Golnow, and the three mouths of the Oder; adding, that if the male descendents of the electoral line should come to be extinct, Pomerania and the New Marck should devolve

devolve to Sweden ; and that, in the mean time, both houses should bear the arms of those provinces. In return, as an equivalent for the cessions made by the elector, the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, were secularized ; and he was immediately put into the possession of them, as also of the counties of Hohenstein and Richenstein. He had likewise the expectancy given him of the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, of which Augustus of Saxony was then administrator.

This peace, which is considered as the basis of all the possessions and rights of the several princes of Germany, and of which Lewis XIV. became guarantee, was published in the year 1648.

Tho' the elector's interests had been thus settled, he was yet obliged to make a new treaty with the Swedes in 1649, for the regulation of disputed limits, and for the discharging of some debts, of which Sweden paid only a fourth part. But the electorate, Pomerania, and the duchy of Cleves, were not entirely evacuated by the Dutch and the Swedes, who were still in possession of some places, till the year 1650.

The duke of Neuburg had like to have thrown things into the same confusion, from which they had been so lately, and with so much difficulty, disembarassed, by persecuting the protestants of Juliers. Frederick-William took them under his protection, and sent general Spaar with a body of troops into that duke's territories : at the same time making proposals of accommodation to him, by the mediation of the Dutch.

During these transactions, Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, a wandering prince, who was expelled his dominions by the power of France, and led rather
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the life of a Tartar than of a sovereign, came to the assistance of the duke of Neuburg. Upon his arrival, the pacific dispositions of both parties were very near vanishing; but at length they came to an agreement. With regard to the order of their possessions, they stuck to the treaty of Westphalia*; and as to the article of liberty of conscience, it was agreed to abide by those treaties which had been made in favour of the protestants, from the year 1612 to 1647.

There happened an event at that time in Sweden, in 1654, which, from its extraordinary nature, engrossed the attention of all Europe.

Queen Christina abdicated the throne in favour of her cousin Charles-Gustavus, prince of Deuxponts. This action was censured by the politicians, especially by those who judge of human conduct only by principles of interest and ambition. Those who pretended to the greatest penetration, would have it, that the young queen resigned the regal dignity, merely because of the aversion she had conceived to Charles-Gustavus, whom she was solicited to marry. The learned were too profuse in their panegyrics upon this princess, for having sacrificed, at so tender an age, the glittering charms of grandeur to the more solid pleasures of philosophy. But if she had been really a philosopher, her glory would never have been sullied by the murder of Monaldeschi, nor by the continual uneasiness and regret which she shewed at Rome after her abdication. In the opinion of the most judicious, the conduct of this princess could not but appear extraordinary. She merited

* The duchy of Cleves, the Marck, and Ravensburg fell to the elector's share; Juliers, Bergues, and Ravenstein to the duke.

ted neither praise nor blame for having abdicated the throne. An action of that nature cannot be called great, but from the importance of the motives that determine it, from the circumstances that attend it, and from the magnanimity with which it is afterwards supported.

Scarce had Charles-Gustavus ascended the throne, when he shewed his ambition of distinguishing himself in the military art. The truce which Gustavus-Adolphus had concluded with Poland, was within six years of its expiration. His design was to oblige John Casimir, who in 1648 succeeded Ladislaus, to renounce all the pretensions which the crown of Poland formed on Sweden, and to yield Livonia to him. Frederick-William, who mistrusted the Swedes, saw into their designs; but in order to amuse Sweden, he mediated a reconciliation between the Swedish regency of Stade, and the city of Bremen, whose disputes related to the liberties of this Hans-town.

Charles-Gustavus pretended, that his military preparations were designed against Russia, and sent a message to the elector, desiring him to put into his hands the ports of Pillaw and Memel, in the same manner as Gustavus-Adolphus insisted upon George-William's delivering up the fortresses of Spandaw and Custrin. But the scene was changed; Frederick-William had too brave and generous a soul to stoop to such a condescension. He boldly rejected so insolent a proposal; and made answer, that if the king of Sweden really intended to attack the Russians, he would engage to assist him with a body of 8000 men; pretending, that the progress of the Russian arms in Poland rendered him apprehensive, lest they

should draw near to his own frontiers. This artful and polite evasion gave the Swedes to understand, that the elector wanted neither courage nor sense.

The republic of Poland having been apprised by the elector of the danger that threatned her, entreated him to assist her with his artillery, troops, and good counsels. This entreaty was followed with an embassy, desiring him to mediate a reconciliation between her and Sweden; and to this soon succeeded another, pressing him to furnish the subsidies necessary for the expence of the war.

The elector, who was well acquainted with the nature of the tumultuous deliberations of this republic, always ready to declare war, without ever preparing the means to support it, exhausted by the rapine of the great, uncertain in her resolutions, ill obeyed by her troops, and inconstant in her engagements, made answer, that he would neither take the misfortunes, which they apprehended, upon himself, nor sacrifice his own interests for an ungrateful nation. In order, therefore, to provide for the security of his dominions, he entered into a defensive alliance with the Dutch for eight years; and he courted the friendship of Cromwell, that fortunate usurper, who had gained in his life-time the title of protector of his country, which posterity changed into that of a tyrant. He tried to make an alliance with Lewis XIV. who, after the treaty of Westphalia, was become the arbiter of Europe. He flattered the imperious humour of Ferdinand III. in order to engage him in his interest; but he received no other answer from those princes, but compliments and empty speeches.

It was not long before Charles-Gustavus confirmed the

the elector's suspicions. General Wertenberg traversed the new Marck with a body of Swedish troops, without permission obtained, and drew near the frontiers of Poland. No sooner had Steinbock attacked that kingdom, than two palatinates of the Upper Poland submitted to the Swedes.

Frederick-William, perceiving that the whole stress of the war would be towards the frontiers of Prussia, marched his army thither in person, in order to be ready to concert proper measures, and to put them immediately in execution. At Marienburg he concluded a defensive alliance with the states of Polish Prussia. The chief articles were the agreement of a mutual succour of 4000 men, promised by the contracting parties, and the maintenance of the Brandenburg garisons at Marienburg, Grodentz, and other towns.

The Swedes were not at that time the only enemies of the Poles. The Czar of Muscovy had penetrated the year before into Lithuania with a numerous army. The pretext of this irruption was a frivolous omission of some titles, which the Polish chancery had forgot to give to the Czar. Strange, that a nation, which did not perhaps know even so much as how to read, should go to war with her neighbours for such a grammatical trifle as the subscription of a letter!

Charles-Gustavus, taking an advantage of the perplexity of his enemies, made in a very short time a considerable progress. He marched his army into Prussia, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the elector; his troops took up their quarters in Ducal Prussia, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Königsberg.

The elector, to whom the Swedes had more than

once-offered advantageous conditions, was come now to the critical moment, in which he could not continue his neutrality, without exposing Prussia to inevitable ruin. He followed therefore the road which the success of the Swedish arms pointed out to him, and concluded a treaty with that crown at Konigsberg in 1656, by which he acknowledged himself a vassal of Sweden, and promised to yield homage for Ducal Prussia, on condition that the bishoprick of Warmia should be secularized in his favour. In order to strengthen this new alliance, he concluded another with Lewis XIV. who guaranteed to him his possessions in Westphalia, and upon the Rhine. Not long after* he changed his treaty with the Swedes into an offensive alliance. The king and the elector had an interview in Poland, where they settled the operations of the campaign, and particularly agreed to retake Warsaw from the Poles, who had driven the Swedes from that city.

The elector marched his troops afterwards through Massovia, and joined the Swedish army at the confluence of the Vistula and the Bock. The allies passed the Bock, and at the same time the Polish army passed the Vistula at Warsaw; so that there was no further obstacle to hinder them from coming to action.

The French ministers, d'Avaujour and de Lombres, flattered themselves with the hopes of reconciling the contending parties, by their negotiations. With this intent they went from one camp to the other; but the Poles, confiding in their superior numbers, being 40,000 strong, despised the others, whose forces scarce amounted to 16,000 men, and insolently rejected every proposal made to them.

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* At Marienburg.

The Poles were strongly intrenched in their camp, their right extending towards a morass, and the Vistula covering their rear towards the left, in a transverse line; in which situation Charles-Gustavus and Frederick-William marched up to them.

The king passed through a small wood, with his right to the Vistula; but the ground was so narrow, that when his troops were drawn out, he could present only a single front, of twelve squadrons and three battalions, to the enemy. He was obliged therefore to form his men in columns, and the day was spent in skirmishes and canonading. The infantry did not come up till late; the elector, who had the command of the left, covered it as well as he could with the wood, which had been just passed by the right wing; and the army continued thus under arms all night.

The day following, which was the 29th of July, the elector took possession of a rising ground, situated towards his left; from whence he discovered a smooth open plain, proper for extending the troops beyond this little wood. He ordered his column to file off to the left, stretching along the plain, and flanked it with six squadrons. The Tartars perceiving this motion, attacked the elector on all sides, but were repulsed; and his whole left wing formed themselves on the plain. The Tartars made a new attack, which succeeded as ill as the first; upon which they retired in confusion.

The king, finding it impossible to attack the enemy's intrenchments on the side of the Vistula, made a disposition for a new attack. A motion of the Polish infantry, which seemed to indicate their intent of marching out of their intrenchments, retarded him for some time; but a few Swedish cannon, which

were levelled against the Polish intrenchments, did such execution, as often as the Poles attempted to march out, that they were obliged to return to their intrenchments in confusion. Charles-Gustavus wanted only this opportunity to change his order of battle. The Swedes, who were in the right wing, traversed the wood, and came and formed themselves on the plain, to the left of the Brandenburgers, who were already drawn up there.

At the same time the Polish army marched out of their intrenchments by their right, and formed a front superior to that of the allies. Their whole cavalry was to the right, covered by a village lined with infantry, and by a battery placed on an eminence. The king of Sweden advanced beyond them, and took them in flank. Upon which the Poles set fire to the village, and abandoned it, rallying behind another village, which was covered by a morass. The king pursued them, and took them once more in flank, which obliged the Poles to set fire also to this village, and to retire as before. In this critical situation, the Polish cavalry made a general effort, and attacked the allies at the same time in the rear, in flank, and in front; but as this was foreseen, and there were troops prepared to receive them, the reserve disengaged the rear, and the Poles were repulsed on all sides with considerable loss. The night coming on deprived the Swedes this time of a compleat victory; and they waited for the return of day-light on the field of battle, all under arms.

At day-break, which was the 30th of July, the king thought fit to make some new dispositions. He formed his two lines of infantry, the cavalry was placed in a third, as a reserve to the right; where
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the elector was himself in person with the cuirassiers and dragoons of Brandenburg.

As the enemy were still in possession of a wood over-against the left, a brigade of artillery was detached thither, supported by 500 horse. After a short cannonading, the cavalry drove the enemy from the wood, which was immediately occupied by 200 foot. The elector then attacked the Polish cavalry, who were drawn up on an eminence, drove them into the morasses, and intirely dispersed them. The Polish infantry finding themselves abandoned, and having lost their cannon, gave way immediately, without waiting for the enemy, and fled in the utmost confusion. The vanquished army repassed the Vistula, and abandoned Warsaw, which surrendered the next day to the conquerors.

The Polish army lost 6000 men in the different engagements of those three days; and the allies being harassed with fasting all that time, were not able to pursue them.

John Casimir had been present himself at the defeat of his troops; the queen likewise, and some of the principal ladies of the kingdom, beheld it from the bridge of the Vistula; but they contributed only to increase the shame and confusion of a total defeat.

After the victorious army had rested some time, they made a march of six German miles in pursuit of the enemy. But the elector having received advice, that a body of Tartarian irregulars had made incurfions into Prussia, he left a detachment of his troops with the king of Sweden, and returned with the main body of his army to cover his own frontiers. He acquainted the emperor with the news of this victory;

and this prince, who in his heart was far from being pleased with the elector's extraordinary success, gave him no other answer, than "that he pitied the Poles for having two such brave princes to deal with."

Frederick-William, observing the great need which Charles-Gustavus had of his assistance, made so good a use of it, as to obtain the entire sovereignty of Prussia by the treaty of Libau; and Sweden reserved to herself only the eventual succession.

The emperor, who at that time, in 1657, enjoyed a profound peace, seemed desirous of concerning himself in the troubles of Poland, either with a view of defending that nation, or of promoting his own private advantage. Accordingly he sent Hatzfeldt with 16,000 men to the assistance of this republic: and Denmark at the same time espoused her quarrel out of hatred to Sweden. Ferdinand III. not satisfied with assisting the Poles with his troops, endeavoured also by his persuasions to rid them of a formidable enemy, soliciting Frederick-William in the strongest terms to break with the Swedes. This powerful alliance was to Gustavus a certain omen of the inconstancy of fortune.

The elector, thus pressed on all sides, resolved to prevent the laws of necessity; and with a good grace he consented to what he could not avoid granting to the superior force of a diversion, which the emperor and the king of Denmark were capable of making in his territories. He signed a peace with the Poles at Velaw; by which this crown acknowledged the sovereignty of Prussia, and yielded to him the bailiwicks of Lawenburg and Butaw, as an indemnification for the bishoprick of Warmia. The city of Elbing was likewise mortgaged to him for a sum of money;

ney; and the succession of Prussia was extended to his cousins the margraves of Franconia. Poland and Brandenburg promised to assist each other with 2000 men; the elector evacuated all the towns of Poland, that had been garisoned by his troops; and this important treaty was ratified at Braunsberg.

The elector, by abandoning the Swedes, broke in some measure also with France; he thought it therefore necessary to supply his old alliances with new ones; and concluded a treaty with the emperor and the king of Denmark. Ferdinand III. engaged to furnish a body of 6000 men, and Frederick-William a contingent of 3500, in case either of the contracting parties should want the other's assistance.

At that time the imperial throne, which was become vacant by the death of Ferdinand III. was filled by the archduke Leopold, whom his father had caused to be created king of the Romans, as early as 1653, in spite of the golden bull, and contrary to the opinion of the princes of the empire.

Charles-Gustavus being highly provoked against the emperor and the king of Denmark, for defeating the vast projects which he had formed against Sweden, in their very infancy, revenged himself upon Zealand, where he made an irruption, and obliged Frederick III. king of Denmark, to clap up a peace, which was signed at Rodschidt. Scarce had this peace been concluded, when it was broke through again by the king of Denmark, who, as soon as he was at liberty, annulled a treaty which he had signed through constraint. Frederick III. tho' the aggressor, sollicitated the elector to assist him against Sweden, and his request was granted.

Frederick

Frederick-William made the prince of Anhalt governor of his dominions during his absence, and set out from Berlin at the head of his cavalry, and three thousand imperial cuirassiers. He obliged the Swedes, who were quartered in the duchy of Holstein, to retire beyond the Eider, and threw a garison of Imperialists and Brandenburgers into Gottorp; and, after having driven the Swedes from the isle of Aland, he put his army into winter quarters in Jutland.

The year following, in 1659, he opened the campaign with the taking of Friderichsoude, and of the isle of Fionica; but he failed in his attempt upon the isle of Fuhnen, by the disappointment which he met with in disembarking his troops, the transport vessels having been dispersed by eight Swedish men of war.

In order to divide the Swedish forces, De Souches marched into the Hither Pomerania, with a body of Imperialists*, and two thousand Brandenburgers. This general, and Staremburg, having made themselves masters of some small towns, and of the isle of Wolin, laid siege to Stettin. Wurtz, who was the governor, made a very brave defence. The news of this expedition was soon brought to Denmark. As soon as Wrangel heard it, he flew to the defence of Pomerania, and landing his troops at Stralsund, he surpris'd 1200 Brandenburgers in the isle of Usedom, and threw a reinforcement of 1600 men into Stettin.

Wurst did not let his troops ly idle, but made a furious sally, drove the Imperialists from their approaches, nailed up their cannon, flung their camp into a general consternation, and compelled them to raise the siege, which had lasted forty-six days.

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* Commanded by general de Dohna.

The elector, finding the war was drawing towards his own frontiers, drew his troops out of Jutland, and followed Wrangel into Pomerania. He took Warnemunde and Tripsee, defeated in person a detachment of 300 horse in the neighbourhood of Stralsund, and finished the campaign with the taking of Demin.

While the war was thus carried on in Holstein and Pomerania, the Swedes had driven the Poles and Brandenburgers, in 1658, from the great and little Werder, and from the town of Marienburg in Prussia. But they were expelled from thence in 1659, by the Imperialists and the Poles; and Polentz, with the troops of Brandenburg, made an irruption into Courland, where he took some towns.

I must observe here, for a greater illustration of these military details, that most of the towns which were besieged at that time were incapable of making a defence of 24 hours, after the manner of besieging in our times, unless there was an army at hand to relieve them.

The custom of abdicating was become epidemical in Europe. Queen Christina had set the example, which was followed by John Casimir, and Michael Coribut was chosen in his place.

Amidst these troubles and confusions in which the North had been involved, Charles-Gustavus died in the flower of life, in 1660. The minority of his son Charles XI. allayed the warlike fire of the Swedes, giving their passion leisure to cool, and affording them time to embrace more pacific sentiments.

The belligerent powers now longed for peace, and seemed desirous only of the means of securing it; their animosity, together with the cause of it, was intirely

tirely extinct. The several princes agreed to open the conferences in the abbay of Oliva, in the neighbourhood of Dantzic. As ambition was banished from these negotiations, they soon came to a happy conclusion. The treaty of Braunsberg was guaranteed in favour of the elector, and the sovereignty of Prussia was acknowledged. The other powers agreed among themselves to re-establish the order of their several possessions, just as they had been before the war.

Prussia, nevertheless, submitted with difficulty to the treaty of Braunsberg; the states of this duchy pretending that Poland had no right to dispose of them. Upon this occasion, a gentleman named Rhode, and who was one of the most turbulent of the malcontents, was put under arrest. These first motions of revolt were easily suppressed by the elector, who was accustomed to surmount the greatest difficulties; and soon after he received in person the homage of the Prussians at Konigsberg.

Frederick-William, who was the defender of his subjects in time of war, had a noble ambition of shewing himself their father in time of peace. He relieved those families which had been ruined by the enemy, and built new walls for towns whose old ones had been demolished. Forests, and savage beasts, their wonted inhabitants, disappeared to make room for colonies of husbandmen, and for the numerous herds, which now grazed in places that had been laid waste by the fury of the sword. Industry and rural œconomy, things so useful, and yet so despised, were encouraged. New villages were daily seen to rise, new canals were cut out for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and even a bed was opened for an artificial

cial river, which, joining the Spree to the Oder, facilitated the commerce of the different provinces, by enabling them to communicate their several commodities. These wise arrangements were owing as well to Frederick-William's continued application to state-affairs, as to the goodness and humanity of his character. This prince was perhaps still greater in this respect, than by his heroic valour and political abilities, which enabled him to take a proper manner and time for the execution of all his projects.

In 1665, the Turks attacked the emperor in Hungary, and he sent him a reinforcement of 2000 men, under the command of the duke of Holstein.

The Poles had a war of the same nature to maintain against the Infidels, upon which occasion he assisted Michael Coribut with a body of men.

He received the eventual homage of the city of Magdeburg, and garisoned it with his own troops. He acquired the lordship of Regenstein, which was a fief of the duchy of Halberstadt, and maintained his rights, in opposition to the duke of Brunswick's pretensions. He reconciled, in 1665, the duke of Lunenburg's sons, who were tearing one another to pieces for their paternal inheritance; he terminated by a treaty the differences which still subsisted between him and the dukes of Neuburg, relating to the succession of Cleves; he entered into a defensive alliance with Sweden, and concluded a quadruple alliance at the Hague with the king of Denmark, the republic of Holland, and the duke of Brunswick, to which the emperor acceded.

The intent of these alliances was to secure the tranquillity of Germany. And yet the great precaution taken to render them so numerous seemed to diminish their value.

Notwithstanding all these endeavours, Lewis XIV. disturbed the peace of Europe in 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands. The reason given by him for this war was his demand of Maria Teresa's fortune, which had not been paid. Though this pretext did not seem to bear the same weight at Madrid as at Versailles, yet Lewis XIV. thought he proceeded according to rule in invading the Spanish Netherlands, whose towns at that time were but poorly garisoned.

France being attentive to prevent any alliances that might be formed for the support of the Spanish interest, thought proper, in this conjuncture, to court the elector's friendship; and this prince engaged not to concern himself in the war, which in fact was quite foreign to him.

As early as the year 1670, the designs which Lewis XIV. had formed against the United Provinces were not so secret but some politicians saw into them. Those who are least interested in affairs are oftentimes the most clear-sighted. Frederick-William guessed at the French king's intentions, and endeavoured to divert the storm which threatned the Dutch. Lewis XIV. instead of coming into the elector's pacific views, tried to make him a party in the war. For this purpose he sent the prince of Furstemberg to Berlin, who was astonished to behold a sovereign that preferred the sentiments of friendship and gratitude to the bait of interest, and the seducing charms of ambition.

Frederick-William concluded a treaty at Billefeldt with the elector of Cologne, the bishop of Munster, and the duke of Neuburg, for the defence of the United Provinces. Scarce had this engagement been entered

entered upon, when the duke of Neuburg and the elector of Cologne deserted to the opposite party.

Such was the situation of Holland, attacked by France, and harassed by the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster, that she was almost destitute of hopes of assistance from the generosity of her allies. The unfortunate have an opportunity of making an infallible experiment of the human heart; for the decline of fortune is generally attended with that of friendship. What expectation then could Holland have to find a prince of so magnanimous a soul as to attempt to stop Lewis XIV. in the triumphant course of his prosperity, and to expose himself, at the same time, to the calamities which the republic had reason to apprehend both for herself and her deliverers. And yet such a deliverer was found in Frederick-William, who entered into an alliance with this republic at the very time that Europe expected to see her overwhelmed by those waters over which she had so absolutely reigned.

The elector engaged to furnish her with 20,000 men, half of whom were to be maintained at the expence of the republic, and both parties agreed not to make a separate peace. The emperor Leopold followed the elector's example, by acceding to this alliance.

The invasion of Lewis XIV. had changed the face of government in Holland. The people, grown desperate by the public calamities, laid the blame on the pensioner, and revenged themselves of the miseries that threatned Holland on the brothers de Witt. William prince of Orange was unanimously elected Stadtholder. This prince, who was only nineteen years of age, became the most implacable enemy that the ambition of Lewis XIV. had to contend with.

Scarce had the elector assembled his army, when he marched towards Halberstadt, where he expected to be joined by Montecuculli with ten thousand Imperialists. He continued his march towards Westphalia; but Turenne quitted Holland, took some towns in the county of Cleves, and came to meet him at the head of 30,000 French. In the mean time Groningen was evacuated by the bishop of Munster, and the siege of Maestricht was raised by the French; which were the first fruits of this diversion.

Montecuculli had received private orders from the emperor not to act offensively. The elector's intention was to fight Turenne, and to march directly to the assistance of the Dutch. But as Montecuculli would not consent to this, and the Brandenburgers were not strong enough to attack Turenne, Frederick-William was obliged to conform to the emperor's intention, and he directed his march towards Frankfort on the Main, acquainting the prince of Orange, at the same time, with the motives of his conduct. This march nevertheless obliged Turenne to repass the Rhine at Andernach, and rid Holland of 20,000 of her enemies.

The elector wanted to follow Turenne, and had made all the necessary preparations for passing the Rhine at Nirstein; but Montecuculli still opposed it, declaring that the Imperialists should not pass that river. Thus the campaign was fruitlessly spent, and the elector took up his winter-quarters in Westphalia.

Turenne made a proper use of this inaction; he passed the Rhine at Wesel, and made himself master of the duchy of Cleves, and of the county of Marck, from whence he advanced into Westphalia. At the
same

same time the bishop of Munster ventured to besiege Billefeldt, but was disappointed in the attempt.

The prince of Anhalt advised the elector to attack Turenne; but the same reasons for avoiding an engagement still subsisted. As the emperor had not declared war against France, he did not care that his troops should act offensively, and the Brandenburgers were not strong enough of themselves to venture an engagement with such an enemy.

The Dutch were still behind-hand in the subsidies which they had engaged to pay to the elector; besides, as neither Spain nor the emperor had declared against France, all the territories of Westphalia were in danger of being lost. Under these conjunctures Frederick-William was disposed to come to an agreement with Lewis XIV. A peace was accordingly concluded at Vossen, and the French king ratified it in his camp before Maestricht. The elector was reinstated in his possessions, excepting the cities of Retz and Wesel, which the French kept till the conclusion of a peace with Holland. He engaged likewise not to assist the Dutch any more; but reserved to himself the liberty of defending the empire, in case it was attacked. The other articles of this treaty relate to the indemnity for the ravages committed by the French troops, which Lewis XIV. promised to pay to the elector.

Notwithstanding the endeavours that were used, the French could never be prevailed upon to comprize Holland in this treaty. Frederick-William had sacrificed himself for this republic; and if his generous example had been followed, at least in part, by the other princes, his expedition would have been de-

cifive, and he would not have been obliged to submit to the superior power of Lewis XIV.

Even the very enemies of Frederick-William felt the effects of his magnanimity.

A Frenchman, by name Villeneuve, who was in Turenne's camp, made offers to the elector of murdering the French general. Frederick-William shuddered at so horrid a proposal, and gave notice to Turenne to beware of the traitor, who was in his own army; adding, that he embraced this opportunity with pleasure of testifying, that the esteem he had for his merit was no way altered by the mischief which the French had done to his territories in Westphalia.

The ambition of Lewis XIV. was increased by his posterity. He had over-run Holland in 1673 and 1674, and obliged her allies to abandon her, while the terror of his arms kept the two branches of the house of Austria in a state of inaction. At the same time his troops committed most horrid excesses in the Palatinate, by levying contributions with the utmost rigour, and oppressing the people. The elector Palatine complained to the diet; and the emperor, who had been a quiet spectator of the conquest of Holland, waked out of his lethargy, as soon as the security of the empire itself was in danger. He declared war against France, the only war perhaps that the house of Austria ever undertook for the security and defence of Germany.

Leopo'd joined with Spain and Holland; and Frederick-William engaged to lead an army of 16000 men to the assistance of the empire, which he was permitted to do by the treaty of Voffen. Spain and
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Holland promised to pay for the maintenance of his troops.

The beginning of this campaign proved unsuccessful to the allies. The Dutch were defeated at Senef by prince Conde, the duke of Lorraine was beaten at Sintzheim, and M. de Bournonville at Holtzheim in Alsace, both by marshal Turenne.

The elector passed the Rhine at Strasburg, and joined the Imperialists a few days after their defeat. Here he found the different generals of the army greatly divided, and more bent upon hurting one another than the enemy.

By the junction of the Brandenburgers this army was 50,000 strong. The elector, who was desirous of glory, and wanted to fight, could never persuade Bournonville to hazard an engagement; so that the campaign was spent in observing Turenne. The army marched to Kokersburg, and the Brandenburgers made themselves masters of the small castle of Wofelsheim; while Turenne, who aimed at something more important, repassed the Sarre, and retired into Lorraine.

The elector extended his quarters from Calmar to Malsmunster, and the Imperialists blocked up Brisac.

Turenne had considerably the advantage over an army torn by division and jealousy, especially after having received a reinforcement of 10,000 men from the army in Flanders. He had retreated like Fabius, but now he advanced like Hannibal.

The elector foresaw what happened. He advised Bournonville to collect his scattered forces; but this general, thinking himself secure, rejected his advice. In the mean time Turenne passed by Tan and Bedford, broke into the Imperial quarters, where he

surprised a detached party, defeated Bournonville in the Sundgow near Mulhausen, and pursued this general, who made all possible expedition to join the elector in the neighbourhood of Colmar. Turenne came round this camp with his second line; upon which the elector finding himself straitened for ground, flanked by Turenne, and contradicted by Bournonville, decamped in the night, and repassed the Rhine at Strasburg.

The Imperialists raised the siege of Brisac, and the French became once more masters of Alsace.

Frederick-William put the troops of Brandenburg into winter quarters in Franconia.

This ill success ought not to surprise those who are acquainted with the principles and conduct of the Imperial court.

The council of Vienna was widely different from that of Versailles, and Bournonville was no way a match for Turenne.

At Vienna, the ministers, who were mere politicians, and unpractised in the art of war, settled the operations of the campaign in their closets, and the generals were only intrusted with the execution of them: they were led, as it were, by leading-strings, in an employment that requires the greatest freedom and activity.

At Versailles, the generals were made acquainted with the intentions of the court, and the Conde's and Turenne's were thought men of sufficient capacity to be depended upon for the manner of putting them in execution.

The abbe Fouquet, cardinal Mazarine's favourite, took one day the liberty to point out with his finger on a map, the place where marshal Turenne should
pass

pass that river. Turenne replied coolly, *Sir, your finger is not a bridge.*

The French generals were like sovereigns in their armies. As their abilities were known, they were laid under no constraint, but in every thing were left to follow the free impulse of their genius; thus they made a right use of those moments, which the enemies lost in the dispatching of couriers, to ask leave to execute such things, as were no longer practicable at their return. Hence it was that Frederick-William never made so great a figure at the head of the Imperialists, as when he commanded only his own troops.

The emperor, who had given him little more than a nominal command, placed his whole confidence in his own generals. Thus Montecuculli defeated every scheme formed by the elector in the campaign of 1672; because, as the Imperialists had not declared war against France, they avoided acting offensively, and were satisfied with the ceremony of making their appearance in the armies.

Bournonville, who had been beaten at Holtzheim in the above mentioned campaign, received orders not to hazard another engagement. Very likely he opposed the elector's schemes thro' personal jealousy, and to prevent its being said, that this prince's superior skill in the military art, had retrieved the losses, which had been sustained thro' the other's incapacity.

The French, not satisfied with recovering Alsace, wanted to weaken the Imperial army, which might have been able to deprive them in the spring, of the advantages they had obtained during the winter. For this purpose they created new enemies to the e-

lector, who, by the diversion they made, obliged him to return to his own dominions.

Notwithstanding the defensive alliance, which the elector had concluded with the crown of Sweden, and the duke of Neuburg, in 1673, Wrangel marched into the Marck in 1675, at the head of a Swedish army.

The prince of Anhalt, who at that time was governor of the Marck, complained bitterly of this Swedish irruption. Wrangel answered, that the Swedes should withdraw, as soon as the elector concluded a peace with France.

This prince acquainted the elector with the devastation of his territories, and the enormous excesses committed by the Swedes. But as he had not a sufficient number of troops at Berlin to present himself before an army, the elector thought proper that he should not engage the Swedes, but wait his arrival.

While the elector's troops refreshed themselves after their fatigues, in their winter quarters in Franconia, the peasants of Brandenburg, impatient of a foreign yoke, and driven to despair by the extortions of the Swedes, assembled in bodies, and gained some advantages over their oppressors. They formed themselves into several companies, and the elector's name was in their colours, with this inscription,

For our prince and country we sacrifice our lives.

In the mean time while Wangelin fell ill, which increased the licentiousness of the soldiers, they did not even spare churches, but carried their rapacious cruelty to the highest degree of violence.

While

While the Marck sighed after a deliverer, Frederick-William was making preparations to confound the insolence of his enemies. He set out from Franconia, and arrived the 11th of June at Magdeburg. Immediately he ordered the gates of the town to be shut, and used every precaution to conceal the news of his approach from the enemy. Towards the evening his army passed the Elbe, and directing their march through by-ways, reached the night following the gates of Rathenaw. The elector gave notice to the baron de Brist, who was there at that time, of the arrival of his troops, and concerted with him proper measures to surprize the Swedes.

The regiment of Wangelin was in garison in the town. Brist invited the officers of this regiment to sup with him. During the entertainment they were overpowered with liquor; and while they slept themselves sober, the elector ordered several detachments of his troops to pass the Havel in boats, and to attack the town on all sides.

General Dorfling, pretending to be a Swedish party, pursued by the troops of Brandenburg, was the first who entered Rathenaw, and cut the guards in pieces. At the same time the gates were forced open, and the cavalry cleared the streets; the Swedish officers could scarce believe, when they awaked, that they were the prisoners of a prince, whom they imagined to be in Franconia at the head of his troops. The adventure was so extraordinary, as to appear like a dream.

The elector, who well knew the vast consequence of embracing the critical moment, would not wait for the arrival of his infantry. In this delicate conjuncture he marched to Nauen, in order to cut off

two principal bodies of the Swedish troops, one of which was in the neighbourhood of Brandenburg, and the other near Havelberg. That of Brandenburg had passed the Nauen, an hour before the elector's arrival. He pursued them closely; but not being able to come up with them, he was informed by prisoners and deserters, that they were marching to Fehrbellin, where they had fixed the rendezvous with those of Havelberg.

The elector's army consisted of 5600 horse; he had no infantry, and yet he carried with him twelve pieces of cannon. He did not hesitate a moment to attack the enemy, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, and the difference between the troops that composed the two armies. He had only a body of horse, and the Swedes had ten regiments of foot, with some dragoons.

Frederick-William gave the van-guard on the 18th of June to the prince of Homburg, with 1600 horse, ordering him to reconnoitre the enemy without coming to an engagement. This prince set out for the expedition, and after passing through a wood, he found the Swedish troops incamped between the villages of Hackenburg and Tornow, with a morass in their rear, the bridge of Fehrbellin beyond their right, and a smooth plain in their front. He drove the advanced guards before him, and came up with them flying to the main body of their army, who marched out of their camp immediately to draw up in order of battle. This prince was carried away by the warmth of his constitution, and let himself be drawn into an engagement which might have been attended with a fatal consequence, if the elector, apprised of the danger, had not immediately flown to his assistance.

The elector, who was a prince of quick and just penetration, and of surprising activity, made use of a bank of sand to erect a battery, which did great execution. As the Swedish army was thrown into some confusion, he fell instantly with all his cavalry upon the enemy's right wing, and defeated them intirely; the body guards, and the regiment of Ostrogothia were cut in pieces, by the cavalry of Brandenburg. The defeat of the right brought on that of the left; numbers of the Swedes threw themselves into the morasses, where they perished; the remainder flew with precipitation to Fehrbellin, where they broke down the bridge.

The elector being unprovided with infantry could not force the bridge to pursue them; he was therefore satisfied with pitching his camp on the field of battle, where he had gained so much glory. He forgave the prince of Homburg for having exposed, by his temerity, the fortune of a whole nation, telling him, "Were I to judge you according to the rigour of the military laws, you deserve to lose your life; but heaven forbid I should stain my laurels with the blood of a prince, who has been one of the principal instruments of my victory."

The Swedes lost eight colours, two standards, eight cannons, 3000 men, and a great number of officers, in this memorable and decisive action.

Dorfling pursued them the day following took a considerable number of the m prisoners, together with their baggage, and the greatest part of their plunder. The Swedish army, which was now reduced to 4000 men, made their escape by the way of Ruppin and Whitstock into the country of Mecklenburg. I think that Cæsar's *veni, vidi, vici*, may be
justly

justly applied to the elector, upon this glorious expedition.

It was owing to the success of the arms of Brandenburg, that the Swedes were declared enemies of the empire for attacking one of its members. Had fortune favoured the Swedes, perhaps they would have found allies.

The elector, whose army was now increased with Imperial and Danish reinforcements, resolved to attack the Swedes in his turn in their own country; he marched therefore into Pomerania, where he made himself master of the three principal passages of the Peene.

The Brandenburgers, who looked upon themselves as invincible under the command of their prince, took the town of Wolgast and the isle of Wolin. Wismar did not surrender to the Danes till after the prince of Homburg had joined them with a reinforcement of electoral troops.

The elector, and the king of Denmark, whose interests were equally connected in their war against the Swedes, entered into a closer engagement in 1676, to act with greatest vigour.

In the mean while the garison of Stralsund attempted during the winter to dislodge the Brandenburgers from the isle of Wolin. Mardefelt landed a body of troops, and laid siege to the capital, which was defended by an electoral garison. The vigilance of Marshal Dorfling made them pay dear for the temerity of their enterprise; he drew some of his detachments together, passed over into the isle of Wolin, beat Mardefeldt, and would have entirely defeated him, if the Swedes had not got on board in a hurry, and made their escape to Stralsund.

At the beginning of this campaign, the Baltic was covered with two powerful squadrons, which locked the Swedes up in their harbours, and hindered them from sending succours to Pomerania. The Dutch were commanded by Tromp, the greatest admiral of his age; and the Danish fleet was under the command of Juhl, an admiral likewise of established reputation. Even the privateers of Brandenburg took several prizes of the Swedes.

This nation, foreseeing the difficulty of withstanding such a number of enemies, attempted to make proposals to the elector, in order to draw him off from his allies, or perhaps to set him at variance with them. Wangelin, who was made prisoner at Rathenaw, sounded the elector's mind, and made overtures tending to an accommodation; but this prince refused to enter into any kind of negotiation.

Frederick-William put himself at the head of his troops, and took Anclam, in spite of general Königsmarck, who attempted to relieve the town. He turned afterwards his victorious arms towards Stettin, which he only blockaded, because the season was too far advanced to besiege it in form.

The ensuing campaign in 1677 was opened with a sea-fight, in which the Danes defeated the Swedish fleet.

Charles XI. who had hitherto been in a state of pupillage, began to appear like a king. His first essay was the gaining of the famous battle of Lundin in Scania, where Christian V. lost 6000 men.

Fortune, which favoured the Swedes against the Danes, seemed to desert them when they had to deal with the elector, for the campaign of Pomerania turned out to their disadvantage.

The elector opened the trenches the 6th of June before Stettin. The Brandenburgers attacked the town toward the left bank of the Oder; their allies the Lunenburghers carried on their approaches on the right bank, and the siege lasted six months.

The fortifications of Stettin consisted of earthen bastions, surrounded with a ditch, and defended by a wretched counterscarp. The outworks consisted only of two earthen redoubts. In our days this paltry town could not have stood a siege of above eight days. At that time the elector's troops, accustomed only to field battles, were quite unpractised in sieges, and destitute of engineers.

Stettin did not capitulate till the 14th of December. The garison was reduced to 300 men, and the relations of those days inform us, that this siege cost the besiegers 10,000 men. The Lunenburghers returned to their own country. The great advantages which the elector gained over his enemies did not make so favourable an impression upon the Imperial court as might have been expected. The emperor wanted to have weak vassals and poor subjects in Germany, but no great lords or powerful princes. As his politics aimed at arbitrary power, he was sensible of the importance of keeping the princes of the empire in a state of mediocrity and impotence, in order to exert the tyranny which the house of Austria intended to establish in Germany. The emperor's council, and, among the rest, one Hocherus, had the insolence to say, that the court of Vienna was uneasy to see a new king of the Vandals enlarging his territories on the borders of the Baltic. This prophecy was afterward verified.

While

While the elector's campaigns were attended with a continual series of triumphs, which were the fruits of his prudence, the Dutch concluded a separate peace with France.

Frederick-William reproached these republicans with their ingratitude. France proposed to this prince, that he should restore his conquests to the Swedes, and indemnify them for the expences of the war. Could Lewis XIV. have prescribed much harder conditions to a conquered prince? The elector indeed rejected them; and, as he had higher views, he wanted to preserve by treaties what he had conquered by arms. But he was even happier in his negotiations than in his victories.

The war was therefore continued in Pomerania.

In the beginning of the ensuing campaign in 1678, the Swedes surprised in the isle of Rugen two detachments of Danes and Brandenburgers, each of 600 men. The king of Denmark moreover lost Christianstadt, and the isle of Blechingen.

The elector's fortune, or rather his prudence, not being subject to caprice, was much more constant. He received a reinforcement of 4000 Lunenburghers, and, with the assistance of some Danish vessels, he made a descent upon the isle of Rugen, drove the Swedes from thence, and made himself master of Fehrschantz. He took afterwards possession of the isle of Bohrnholm, sat down before Stralsund, and bombarded this town so briskly that it surrendered in two days. At length he finished this glorious campaign with the taking of Grypswalde.

Fortune seemed to take a pleasure in furnishing this prince with every occasion to display his great abilities. Scarce had this campaign been ended, when

when he had tidings brought him that the enemy had attacked him on another side, and that general Horn was marched from Livonia at the head of 6000 men to enter Prussia.

The elector received this news without being in the least surpris'd, and applied a speedy remedy. As his genius was fruitful in expedients, it furnished him at the same time with proper measures for putting them in execution; and indeed he projected and executed, as it were, at the same time. He sent general Gortz before him with 3000 men, who making a forced march, passed the Vistula, and arriv'd safely at Konigsberg, where he was join'd by Hohendorff, and remained there till the elector's arrival.

During this diversion, the elector's affairs grew still worse, by the desertion of the emperor and Spain, who, after the example of the Dutch, concluded a peace with France at Nimeguen, without taking any notice of the elector's interests. Thus this prince and the king of Denmark were left alone to carry on the war.

Frederick-William, in order to strengthen his party, concluded a defensive alliance with those very Dutch who had so basely deserted him. He resign'd fort Schenck to them, and forgave them the arrears of the subsidies due to him, for all which he received only empty guaranties in return, which those ungrateful republicans refused even to fulfil.

In the mean while the Swedes made a considerable progress in Prussia. They burnt the suburb of Memel upon their march, and made themselves masters of Tilsit and Insterburg; their troops spread themselves around, and their different parties over-run the whole country.

But

But the elector soon retrieved these losses by his prodigious diligence. He set out from Berlin in 1679, and put himself at the head of 9000 men, whom he had sent before him under the command of Dorfling. He passed the Vistula the 14th of January, preceded by the terror of his name, which was now become formidable to the Swedes. Horn, confounded at his approach, lost all hopes of withstanding the hero of Fehrbellin; and as his troops were also disheartened, he thought proper to retire. Gortz, taking an advantage of this confusion, pursued, harassed and retarded him in his march; on which occasion the Swedes lost 8000 men. A great number of peasants having joined the body of troops commanded by Gortz, took all the stragglers of the enemy's army prisoners.

The elector, who did not lose a moment of time, appeared on the banks of the Fricshaff. Having put all his army in sledges, prepared on purpose, he proceeded the same day with his troops seven German miles from thence, and continued his march in this new and extraordinary manner. It was a surprising spectacle to see an army march over a frozen gulph, which two months before was covered with ships.

The elector's march with his army had the air of a most solemn and magnificent procession. The electress and the whole court were with him in sledges, and this prince was received where-ever he came as the deliverer of Prussia.

He dispatched Trefenfeldt from Labiaw with 5000 horse, to stop the Swedes till he could come up with them. The same day he made a very long march on the gulph of Courland, and arrived, the 19th of January, with his little army within three miles of
Tilsit,

Tilsit, where the Swedes had taken up their quarters. He received tidings the same day that Trefenfeldt had defeated two of the enemy's regiments, in the neighbourhood of Splitter, and that he had taken from them twenty eight * colours and standards, two pair of kettle drums, and seven hundred waggons full of baggage; upon which he ordered him to improve these advantages.

The Swedes, beaten by Trefenfeldt, harassed by Gortz, and intimidated by the neighbourhood of the elector, abandoned Tilsit, and retreated towards Courland. Gortz came up with their rear, consisting of 1400 men, between Schultzen, Crug and Cuadjuc, and defeated them entirely. Both he and Trefenfeldt returned different ways, loaded with trophies, and conducting a great number of prisoners, together with all their plunder.

The retreat of the Swedes was like to a total rout; not above 3000 men of their whole army returned into Livonia, the rest were all destroyed.

Thus ended this expedition, the only one in its kind, and in which the elector shewed the full extent of his genius; an expedition in which neither the rigour of the season in that extreme cold climate, nor the length of the march for an army to the frontiers of Livonia, nor nothing, in fine, could stop him.

This campaign, which was planned with so much prudence and judgment, and executed with so much resolution and success, gained the elector nothing more than empty fame. This is the reward of heroes,

roes,

* Either the number of the Swedes must have been vastly reduced, or there must have been some mistake in the number of colours. I should have scrupled to relate this fact, had I not found it ascertained by the different relations preserved in the archives.

roes, but princes are not always satisfied with such payment.

His enemies had brought him from the Rhine into the Marck, and from Pomerania into Prussia. Scarce had he driven away the Swedes, when the cries of his subjects gave him to understand that the French had entered the duchy of Cleves with 30,000 men.

Lewis XIV. insisted upon the entire reinstatement of the Swedes; and was inflexible upon this article. Every proposition that the elector's ministers made to Colbert was rejected.

It was an unequal match; for the elector of Brandenburg and the king of Denmark could not pretend to cope with Lewis XIV. and Charles XI. Valour submitted to numbers; and notwithstanding the repugnance which the elector had to give up his conquests, he made a truce of fifteen days with the French, that they might agree upon the articles of peace; and he put them in possession of the towns of Wesel and Lipstat, till it was entirely concluded.

Upon the expiration of this term, Crequi entered the principality of Minden with 10,000 men. Here he was joined by the Lunenburghers, and these troops shut up between them and the Weser a body of Brandenburgers commanded by general Spaan.

Frederick-William, who received nothing but excuses and refusals from the Dutch, with regard to their not executing the guarantee, resolved to come to an accomodation. He sent the baron de Meynder to St Germain, where they agreed upon the following conditions, *viz.* that the treaty of Westphalia should be the basis of this peace; that the elector should have the property of the customs in Further Pomerania; and that the towns of Camin, Gartz,

Grieffenberg and Wildenbruch, should be yielded to him. In return, he agreed to restore to the Swedes all he had conquered from them, and not to assist the king of Denmark. Upon which France withdrew her troops from his territories, and paid him 30,000 ducates, as an indemnity for the mischief which Crequi had done to his subjects.

The peace being thus concluded, was ratified and put in execution, without any difficulty intervening on either side, to prevent an intire evacuation.

The king of Denmark, who was now the only champion left in the lists, soon followed the elector's example, and concluded a peace at Fontainbleau with France and Sweden. With this difference, that the elector at least gained something by it, whereas the king of Denmark, by holding out too long, got nothing at all.

The peace of St Germain's put an end to Frederick-William's military exploits. His last years were more pacific, and less glorious. And yet he still shewed himself the great and benevolent man, even in the most private passages of his life.

The wisdom, constancy, penetration, and every other virtue of this prince, were regulated according to his different circumstances; appearing one while more sublime, and another time more tender and obliging; but always directed by the principles of justice, and tending only to the glory of his reign, and the welfare of his subjects.

It is owing to a general prejudice, that the greatest part of mankind idolize the successful temerity of the ambitious. The glory of military exploits renders them blind, even to civil virtues; in their
way

way of thinking, the Erostrati are preferable to the modern Amphions.

Frederick-William was equally admirable at the head of his armies, where he appeared as the deliverer of his subjects ; and at the head of his council, where he administered justice to his people, and to his neighbours ; and raised his country from a state of annihilation, into which it had been plunged by the war.

The elector's virtues were of too extensive a nature, not to be known ; his excellent endowments gained him the confidence of his neighbours. His impartial justice rendered him a kind of supreme arbiter, whose jurisdiction extended beyond his own frontiers, by which he judged and reconciled kings and sovereign princes. He was chosen for a mediator between the king of Denmark, and the city of Hamburg. Christian V. received twenty-five thousand crowns of this town, which served as a sponge to the Danes in their present necessity. This city was hard pressed at that time, and would have been entirely ruined, had it not been for the assistance and protection of Frederick-William.

The East paid homage to the reputation of this prince, which had reached as far as Asia. And Murad Geray, Cham of the Tartars, courted his friendship.

The barbarian ambassador appeared in tattered clothes, which scarce covered his nakedness. They were obliged to give him other apparel, before he could be admitted to court. The Boudziake's interpreter had a wooden nose, and no ears. This was carrying simplicity, and the contempt of pomp,

to the highest excess; however, Europe was far from growing jealous at this hungry embassy.

While the elector was courted by the Tartars, he caused himself to be respected by the Spaniards. This court owed him some arrears of subsidies, which they declined paying him. He sent therefore to the coast of Guinea nine small vessels, which he had made use of in the Baltic; and this little would-be squadron took a large Spanish man of war, and carried it into Konigsberg.

This prince made two considerable acquisitions in 1680. Upon the decease of the administrator of Magdeburg, this duchy was incorporated for ever with the electorate of Magdeburg. As director of the circle of Westphalia, he had the Imperial commission to protect the states of East Friesland against their prince, who had invaded their privileges; and having the eventual succession of that principality, he availed himself of the occasion to put a Brandenburg garison into Gritzil, and to establish a company of merchants at Embden, who traded to Guinea, and built Great Fredericksburg.

But these small advantages were nothing in comparison to those of Lewis XIV. This prince made as many conquests in time of peace as of war. He pursued a new method, in establishing the chambers of re-union, which by examining the ancient charters and old precepts, adjudged several towns and lordships to him, which he had taken possession of, as being originally fiefs or dependences on the prefecture of Strasburg and Alsace. The empire being exhausted with a long war, was satisfied with complaining to Lewis XIV. in writing. But as the elector had not been included in the treaty of Nimeguen, he refused to sign

sign this letter, and he concluded, in 1681, a treaty of alliance with the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Hanover, for the maintenance of the peace of Westphalia and St Germain's.

Lewis XIV. being unwilling to be disturbed by the emperor, or by the empire, in his pacific conquests, set his engines to work in the East in 1682, which soon flung Leopold into the utmost confusion.

There were still two years to come of the truce, which the Infidels had concluded with the Christians after the battle of S. Godart. And yet the Turks sent succours to the Hungarians, who had revolted against the house of Austria, and they marched with a formidable army up to the gates of Vienna.

Leopold, who, like the rest of his family, was no soldier, fled to Lintz in 1683, with all his haughtiness: he would neither make concessions to the French, who had taken Luxemburg from him; nor to the Turks, who besieged his capital. And yet the empire was incapable to withstand so many enemies. At length, the pressing solicitations of the pope, of Frederick-William, the elector of Bavaria, and of the chief princes in Germany, prevailed upon him to agree to a truce, which was concluded with France the 15th of August 1684.

The same year the elector concluded an alliance with the circles of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, for their common defence. In this treaty it was expressly agreed, that the princes who assembled the confederate troops should draw contributions from the neighbouring states. The manners of that time are too much characterised by such passages as these, to be omitted in our history.

Frederick-William had pretensions to the duch-

ies of Jagerndorff, Ratibor, Oppelen, Brieg, Wolau, and Lignitz. These duchies belonged to him in strict justice by the treaties of confraternity, which had been concluded with the princes who formerly possessed them, and ratified by the kings of Bohemia. He looked upon this as a favourable conjuncture to desire the emperor to satisfy his just pretensions, and to grant him at the same time the investiture of Magdeburg. Leopold, who knew no rights but his own, no pretensions but those of the house of Austria, and no justice but his own haughtiness, granted what he could not refuse; namely, the investiture of the duchy of Magdeburg. And yet he wanted a contingent of Brandenburg troops, but they were refused him. The elector however sent succours to John Sobieski, who was also attacked by the Turks in 1685; these succours consisted of 2000 men.

Every circumstance of that time seemed to contribute to aggrandize the elector. France was disturbed by the revocation of the famous edict of Nantes; and such a migration ensued, as can hardly be paralleled in history. A whole nation, as it were, departed the kingdom, thro' the spirit of party, and out of hatred to the pope, in order to receive the communion in both kinds in another climate, and to chant Clement Marot's old psalms in other temples. For such powerful motives as these, two hundred thousand inhabitants went into voluntary banishment, and abandoned their possessions, carrying with them their industry, and manufactures, to those places of refuge which they exchanged for their own country. Twenty thousand French came and settled in the territories of the elector, who by their numbers repaired in some measure the depopulation which had been caused

ed by the wars. Frederick-William received them with that pity, which misery excites; and with the generosity of a sovereign, who rewards those artists, whose industry is so useful to his people. This industrious colony multiplied, and made ample returns to their benefactor for his hospitality and protection. The Marck of Brandenburg became soon capable of drawing from her own stock those commodities, which she had been obliged to import from foreign countries.

Lewis XIV. was offended at the reception which the elector gave to the refugees. Frederick-William, being apprehensive that his piety would imbroider him with France, entered into a more intimate connection with the emperor, and sent him, in the year 1686, eight thousand auxiliary troops against the Turks, under the command of Schoning. These troops had a great share in the taking of Buda, and distinguished themselves greatly at the general assault of that town, where they were the first that entered. Notwithstanding these services, they were denied winter quarters in Silesia, and were obliged to come back and winter in the Marck. The emperor, however, granted the circle of Swibus to the elector, as an indemnity.

The reception of the French at Berlin, and the succours granted to the emperor, at length exasperated France; she broke in some measure with the elector, by refusing to continue the payment of the annual subsidy, which had been granted him by the peace of St Germain. Lewis XIV. could not avoid breaking the truce concluded with the emperor; by maintaining the pretensions of Charlotte, princess Palatine, wife to the duke of Orleans, to some

bailiwicks of the Palatinate, which that princefs laid claim to ; and by repairing the fortifications of Hunningen, tho' this was contrary to the treaty of Nimeguen. So enterprising a neighbour alarmed all Germany ; the circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Lower Rhine, concluded an alliance at Augsbuurg, to guard againſt the continual enterprizes, which were formed by the ambition of Lewis XIV.

Notwithſtanding ſo many ſubjects of complaint, which the empire had againſt France ; yet the emperor confirmed the truce in 1687, which he had concluded with that crown ; for the apprehenſion of the Turks rendered him prudent and circumſpect. And yet we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory, how the election made by the chapter of Cologne, in favour of the prince of Furſtenberg, at that time biſhop of Straſburg, and protected by France, obliged the elector at length to break with a neighbour, whoſe ambition kept no meaſures, and who knew no limits to his power.

The elector had no ſhare in this war, but died before it broke out. He granted his protection for the ſecond time to the city of Hamburg, which was beſieged by the king of Denmark in perſon with 17000 men. Paul Fuchs and Schmettau, both envoys from the elector, perſuaded Frederick V. to raiſe the ſiege, and to re-eſtabliſh matters upon the ſame footing as they ſtood before that expedition. At the ſame time, the difference was compromiſed, relating to the four bailiwicks of the duchy of Magdeburg, which were in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Weſſeinfels. The elector purchaſed the bailiwick of Bourg for 24,000 crowns, and relinquish'd his pretenſions to thoſe of Querfurt, Yuterbock, and Damme.

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The North was in danger of being disturbed again by the differences which arose in 1688, between the king of Denmark and the duke of Gottorp, concerning the peace of Rodschilt, by which Charles Gustavus had procured for the duke the intire sovereignty of his territories. The Danes, offended at this sovereignty, drove this prince from Schleswick, and declared that they intended to keep possession of this duchy, as well as of Denmark. The emperor Leopold wanted to intermeddle in the quarrel; but the king of Denmark refused to trust his affairs into any other hands than those of the elector. Conferences were accordingly held at Hamburg and Altena. Frederick V. offered to yield some counties to the duke of Gottorp, the income of which would be equal to the revenues of Schleswick, excepting the sovereignty. The duke refused those offers, and Frederick-William did not live to see a conclusion of the affair; for death put an end to his glorious reign.

Frederick-William had been a long time troubled with the gout. This distemper turned into a dropfy; and as his complaint grew worse every day, he met death with the greatest undauntedness and resolution. Two days before he died, he convened his council; and after having assisted at the debates, and decided affairs with a sound judgment, and a perfect freedom of mind, he addressed his discourse to his ministers, thanking them for the fidelity they had shewn him, and exhorting them to discharge their duty in the like manner to his son. He turned then to the electoral prince, and laid before him the several duties of a sovereign; he gave him a short analysis of the state in which he left his affairs, exhorted him to assist the prince of Orange in the expedition, which he

was then meditating against England; and, above all, recommended to him the love and preservation of his people, as a good father would have recommended his children. After which he performed some acts of devotion, and waited calmly for death. He expired the 29th of April 1688, with the same tranquillity of mind, and heroic indifference, which he had constantly displayed in all his victories.

He was twice married, the first time to Henrietta of Orange, mother of Frederick III. who succeeded him; the second time to Dorothy of Holstein, who was mother to the margraves Philip-Albert, and Lewis, and to the princesses Elizabeth Sophia, and Mary-Amelia.

Frederick-William was endowed with all the qualifications requisite to form a great man, and providence furnished him with the proper occasions of displaying them. He gave instances of his prudence, at an age in which unruly and fiery youth give generally only marks of licentiousness. He never exerted his heroic valour in the pursuit of any base design; but employed it constantly in defence of his territories, or in the assistance of his allies. He was warm and prudent, qualifications that rendered him a great politician; he was industrious and humane, virtues which rendered him a great prince. He was insensible to the dangerous charms of lawless love, and had no other weakness, but for his wife and wine. His fiery temperament rendered him subject to transports of choler; but if he gave way to the first motion, he always checked the second; and his generous heart abundantly repaired the mistakes, which his natural impetuosity made him commit. This prince was kind, magnanimous, charitable, humane,
and

and naturally inclined to virtue ; he was the restorer and defender of his country, the founder of its power, the arbiter of the several princes his equals, and the honour of his nation. A plain narrative of his life is his greatest panegyric ; whoever would attempt to embellish the story, would only diminish its beauty : to touch his laurels would make them wither.

Europe had granted the surname of Great to three sovereigns, who reigned almost at the same time, namely, Cromwell, Lewis XIV. and Frederick-William : To Cromwell, for having sacrificed every civil duty to the desire of reigning ; for having prostituted his talents, which instead of being useful to his country, were subservient only to his ambition ; for having concealed his impostures under the mask of fanaticism ; for having enslaved his country under a pretence of fighting for her liberties ; for becoming the executioner of his king, whom he sacrificed to his fury : to Cromwell, a bold, cunning, and ambitious man, but unjust, violent, and void of virtue ; a man, in fine, who had great qualities, but never a good one. Cromwell therefore did not deserve the surname of Great, which is due only to virtue ; and it would be degrading Lewis XIV. and Frederick-William, to compare them to such a rival.

These two princes were considered, each in his sphere, as the greatest men of their age. Sometimes the events of their life resemble each other ; and at other times some important circumstances destroy the resemblance. To compare those princes with respect to their power, would be comparing Jupiter to Philoctetes, or the thunderbolts of Olympus to this hero's arrows. But if, abstracting from their dignities, we consider them only in regard to their personal qualifications,

I am satisfied, that whosoever will give his judgment impartially, will not find the soul and actions of the elector inferior to those of the monarch.

They had both an engaging and agreeable physiognomy, strong features, a Roman nose, eyes that shewed the real sentiments of their hearts, an easy access, a noble air, and majestic gait. Lewis XIV. was somewhat taller, more gentle in his carriage, and more Laconic in his discourse, than Frederick-William, who had contracted a stiff carriage in Holland, and a more diffusive way of speaking in the universities. Their birth was equally illustrious. The Bourbons, indeed, reckoned a greater number of sovereigns among their ancestors than the Hohenzollerns; they were also kings of a large monarchy, and the others only electors of a country of a small extent, and partly depending on the emperors.

These princes in their younger days had almost the same fate. The young king, residing in his own kingdom with his mother Anne of Austria, and his minister cardinal Mazarin, pursued by the slingers and the princes of the blood, beheld, from a distant eminence, the battle which his rebellious subjects fought against his troops in the suburbs of S. Antony. The young prince, whose father had been stripped of his territories by the Swedes, was a kind of fugitive in Holland, where he served his military apprenticeship under Frederick Henry prince of Orange, and signaled himself at the siege of fort Schenk and Breda. Lewis XIV. upon coming to the regency, reduced his kingdom to obedience by the weight of his royal authority. Frederick-William succeeded his father in a country possessed by the enemy, but recovered his inheritance by policy, negotiations, and treaties.

Richlieu,

Richlieu, minister to Lewis XIII. was a genius of the first class ; whose abilities laid the foundations of that grandeur, on which Lewis XIV. had only to raise the superstructure. Schwartzenberg minister to George-William was a traitor, whose mal-administration flung the territories of Brandenburg into that deplorable situation, in which Frederick-William found them when he came to the regency. The French monarch is therefore justly deserving of praise, for having pursued the road to glory, which had been pointed out to him by Richlieu ; but the German hero appears something more than human, by creating his territories, as it were, anew, and by owing his grandeur entirely to the activity of his genius.

Both these princes commanded their armies in person. Lewis XIV. had under him the most celebrated generals in Europe, the Turenne's, the Conde's, and the Luxemburg's ; encouraging abilities of every kind, exciting merit by the emulation of pleasing him, looking on the direction of armies during the whole war as beneath him, but not disdaining to make a campaign ; besieging towns, but avoiding battles. He was present in person at that rapid expedition, in which prince Conde subdued Franche Comte in three weeks. He encouraged his troops by his presence when they passed the Rhine at the famous ford of Tolluys, and drove away the Dutch, who were drawn up on the opposite bank ; an exploit which the idolatry of his courtiers and the flattery of his poets extolled as miraculous. Frederick-William, without any able general to advise him, supplied every deficiency himself ; he formed his own projects, and put them personally in execution ; and tho' he thought like a general, yet he knew how to fight like

like a foldier. As a contrast to the passage of the Rhine, I shall mention the battle of Warsaw, which lasted three days, and in which the great elector was one of the principal instruments of the victory; against the conquest of Franche Comte, I shall set the taking of Rathenaw, and the battle of Fehrbellin, where our hero at the head of 5000 horse charged and defeated the Swedish army; and if this is not enough, I shall throw into the account the expedition of Prussia, where his army flew on frozen seas, advanced forty German miles in eight days, and where the name alone of this great prince drove the Swedes, in some measure, without fighting, intirely out of Prussia.

The actions of Frederick-William render him so much the more worthy of admiration, as they were intirely owing to the genius and courage of a prince, who with few helps undertook the boldest projects, and executed the most difficult enterprizes; his genius appeared to be fruitful of expedients, in proportion to the increase of the obstacles he met with.

The actions of the French monarch dazzle us, by the magnificence with which they are displayed, by the importance of the objects interesting to all Europe, and by the multitude of troops that contributed to his glory. Those of the German hero surprise us by their boldness and rapidity; they force our admiration by the character of enthusiasm with which they are stamped.

Lewis XIV. continued successful only during the lives of the Colberts, the Louvois's, and some great generals to whom France gave birth. The fortune of Frederick-William was almost generally constant and uniform. It seems therefore, that the grandeur
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of the one was owing to his ministers and generals, and that the heroism of the other was inherent in his person.

The king, by his conquests, added Flanders, Franche Comte, Alsace, and, in some measure, Spain to his monarchy, which exposed him to the jealousy of all Europe. The elector acquired Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberstat, and Minden by treaties, making so dexterous use of the envy which then reigned among his neighbours, as to render them subservient to the augmentation of his grandeur.

Lewis XIV. was become the arbiter of Europe by his power, to which even the greatest princes submitted. Frederick-William became the oracle of his neighbours by his virtue, which gained him the esteem and confidence of princes. While some bore with impatience the despotic yoke which the former imposed upon them, others chused to submit their differences to the just and impartial judgments of the latter.

In vain did Francis I. endeavour to draw the polite arts into France; this great work was reserved for Lewis XIV. He took them under his protection, and immediately the Attic taste and Roman urbanity were revived at Paris. Urania had a golden compass in her hands. The bays of Calliope were besprinkled with the waters of Pactolus, and sumptuous temples were appointed for an asylum to the Muses. George-William made several useles efforts to preserve the taste of agriculture in his country; but the thirty years war, like a furious torrent, laid all the north of Germany waste. Frederick-William repopled it, and changed the morasses into meadows, the deserts into villages, the ruins into cities, and the
wild

wild beasts of the woods into numerous flocks, whose milk and fleeces enriched the inhabitants. The useful arts are the eldest sisters of the polite ones, and of course must precede them.

Lewis XIV. deserves immortal fame even for this passage of his life; the memory of the elector will be dear even to his latest posterity, for not having despaired of his country. The sciences ought to erect altars to one, whose liberal protection contributed to enlighten the world; mankind should raise altars to the other, whose humanity repeopled the earth. One thro' the inferiority of his station reaped only corn; the other's opulence set him upon gathering flowers.

But the king drove the protestants out of France, and the elector received them into his dominions. In this respect the superstitious king is far inferior to the humane and tolerating prince. Policy and humanity both combine to give the elector the intire preference in this article.

With regard to gallantry, politeness, generosity, vast designs, and magnificence, the French sumptuousness compared to the German frugality, carries it greatly. Lewis had as much the advantage over Frederick-William, as Lucullus over Achilles.

One granted subsidies by oppressing his people, the other received them to ease his. Thus France was exhausted to such a degree, that Samuel Bernard, to save the honour of the crown, turned bankrupt for her; but no bankruptcy of that kind ever stained the honour of the government of Brandenburg. The bank of his dominions maintained its ground, and kept paying notwithstanding the irruption of the Swedes, the plundering of the Austrians, and the misfortune of the pestilence.

They both concluded treaties, and both broke them; one thro' insatiable ambition, and the other thro' absolute necessity. The strongest rid themselves of the obligation of their promise, by their own free will; the weakest fail in their engagements, thro' compulsion and force.

The monarch was governed towards the end of his reign by his mistress, the hero by his wife. The pride of mankind would be too much humbled, if the frailty of those demi-gods did not convince us, that they are under the same condition of mortality as ourselves.

They both ended, as they had lived, like great men, meeting death with unshaken resolution, quitting pleasures, fortune, glory, and life, with a stoical indifference; holding the helm of government with a steady hand to the last moment; recommending, at their death, their people with a paternal tenderness to their successors; and justifying by a life full of glory, virtues, and wonders, the surname of Great given them by their cotemporaries, and which has been confirmed to them with one common voice by posterity.

FREDERICK III.

T H E

First KING of PRUSSIA.

FREDERICK III. was born at Konigsberg in Prussia, the 22d of July 1657, of Louisa-Henrietta of Orange, first wife to the great elector. His mother died, and the electress Dorothea made his life very uneasy in his younger days. She contrived to prejudise Frederick-William against this son of the first venter, who was sickly, and deformed, and whose education had been greatly neglected. The father's prepossession against him went so far, that he would have been pleased to see the succession devolve to prince Philip his second son.

The electress was suspected in those days of having attempted to poison her step-son ; but as there is no undoubted proof of this fact, and as it is only glanced at by some writers, it ought not to have a place in history, which being the depository of truth, should never sully the memory of the great with the imputation of heinous crimes, without having such proofs as amount to full conviction.

The facts themselves sufficiently clear the electress ; since it is certain that Frederick III. lived, and married in the 1679, for his first wife, Elizabeth-Henrietta, daughter

daughter of William VI. landgrave of Hesse; and that after her decease, in 1684, he was married again to Sophia Charlotte, daughter of Ernest-Augustus, duke of Hanover, and sister of George, who was afterwards king of England.

The electress Dorothea seemed to aim rather at the property, than the life of this prince. For it is positively affirmed, that the great elector was determined at her solicitations to make a will, by which he divided all the acquisitions which he had made during his reign, among his children by the second venter. The Austrian party made a proper use of this will to prejudise the elector against France. The emperor engaged to annul this settlement, on condition that Frederick III. restored to him the circle of Swibus; we shall see in the sequel of this history, in what manner this convention was executed.

The accession of Frederick III. to the regency in 1688, is remarkable for the breaking out of a new war. Lewis XIV. was the cause of it, who insisted upon some bailiwicks of the Palatinate, as belonging to the duchess of Orleans. He complained also of the affront done him by the German princes, who had entered into a league against him at Augsburg; and he declared, that he was obliged in honour to maintain the election made by the canons of Cologne, in favour of the prince of Furstemberg, which was opposed by the emperor.

This déclaration of war was backed by armies. The marshals de Duras and Montglas took Worms, Philipsburg, and Mentz. The Dauphin besieged Mannheim and Franckendahl in person; and almost the whole course of the Rhine fell, in less than one campaign, under the French dominion.

The elector, who imputed all the vexation which his step-mother had given him to France, because she had her particular reasons for engaging Frederick-William in the interest of Lewis XIV. had an utter aversion for every thing that was French. This aversion was diligently fomented by the Austrian party, as it could not but turn out to their advantage; they encouraged it also by creating that phantom of the universal monarchy of Lewis XIV. with which they bewitched one half of Europe. Germany was often alarmed by this childish bug-bear, and plunged into wars, in which she had no manner of concern: but as the edge of the very best weapons grows blunt in time, these arguments insensibly lost their illusory force; and the German princes at length perceived, that if they had any arbitrary power to dread, it was not that of Lewis XIV.

At that time the spell was in its full force, and operated efficaciously on a mind disposed by prejudices to give it a favourable reception. Frederick III. thought himself therefore obliged to assist the emperor; and sent general Schoning with a considerable body of troops to the Upper Rhine. The Brandenburgers having made themselves masters of Rhinbergue; the elector took the command of the army in person, and laid siege to Bonn. Mentz surrendered to the allies; the troops which had taken this town joined the elector, and hindered Boufflers from relieving Bonn; so that Asfeldt, who was governor of this place, surrendered it by capitulation the 12th of October.

The elector made the ensuing campaign in 1690, and continued to furnish considerable succours to the powers allied against France.

William, prince of Orange, had undertaken the conquest of England, soon after the death of the great elector. A Jew of Amsterdam, by name Schwartzau, lent him two millions for this expedition; telling him, If you succeed, I know you will pay it me again; if you miscarry, I am willing to lose it. With this sum William landed in England, where he dethroned James his father-in-law, subdued the opposite party, and became, in some measure, the lawful sovereign of those three kingdoms, by the consent of the people, who seemed to justify his usurpation. James, who was incapable of conciliating the public esteem on the throne, or of reigning over a nation whose privileges he should have regarded, let the scepter slip through his hands; and being pursued by his own children, who had stripped him of the crown, he retired into France, where neither his dignity, nor misfortunes, could procure him any esteem.

The new king of England took the command of the allied army in 1691. He governed Europe by his intrigues, exciting the jealousy of every prince against the power of Lewis XIV. whom he mortally hated. The world was all up in arms, to keep him in possession of that despotic power with which he governed the United Provinces, and which he would have lost in time of peace. He was called the king of Holland, and stadtholder of England. Though he was unsuccessful in war, where he was generally beaten; yet he was fertile and vigilant in repairing his losses; which rendered him the hydra of the fable; so that he was as much dreaded by his enemies after his defeats, as Lewis XIV. after his victories. He

had an interview with the elector concerning the political interests of those times.

There was too wide a difference in the character of these two princes, to expect any thing of importance from their deliberations. William was grave, plain, and full of solidity: Frederick III. was restless, impatient, prepossessed with the idea of his grandeur and magnificence, regulating the most trifling actions with the exact compass of a ceremonial. The punctilio of a great chair had like to have embroiled those princes for ever. And yet the elector sent 15000 Brandenburgers to join the army in Flanders commanded by king William, and another considerable body of troops to assist the emperor against the Infidels. These troops distinguished themselves at the battle of Salanquemen, which prince Eugene gained against the Turks.

King William who was less fortunate, or less skilful, lost in Flanders the battles of Leusden and Landen in 1692.

Ernest Augustus, duke of Hanover, father-in-law of Frederick III. supplied the emperor with a body of 6000 men in 1693, and in return for this assistance he received the electoral dignity. The creation of this ninth electorate met with great opposition in the empire. None but the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony consented to it; but as the emperor wanted real succours, he did not think that he purchased them too dear with frivolous titles.

This seemed to be the season in which the ambition of princes was to bud and disclose itself. The time for aggrandizing themselves proved so favourable, that William prince of Orange was become king of England, and Ernest duke of Hanover was
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made elector. Augustus of Saxony was upon the point of being chosen king of Poland, and Frederick III. began now to meditate the scheme of his royalty.

As this is one of the principal articles of this prince's life, and an event of great importance to the house of Brandenburg; and as the project of royalty is a chain, on which every action of Frederick III. depends, it is necessary that I should explain here the motives that gave rise to it, the means by which it was executed, and some circumstances that influenced the political measures of those times.

The ambition of Frederick III. was confined, as well by his station, as by his dominions. He was too weak to raise himself above the heads of his neighbours, who were as strong and as powerful as himself; therefore he had no other expedient left but the pomp of titles, to supply the intrinsic defect of power. Hence all his thoughts and desires were turned towards the regal dignity.

We find in our archives a very sensible memorial, which is attributed to father Vota, a jesuit. It runs chiefly upon the choice of one of these titles, either that of the king of the Vandals, or of the king of Prussia; and on the advantages arising from the regal dignity. It seems wrong to attribute this work to that Jesuit, especially as the society could have no interest in aggrandizing a protestant prince. Besides, it is natural to suppose, that the elevation of the prince of Orange, and the expectation of Augustus of Saxony, rendered Frederick III. jealous, and raised an emulation in him, to place himself like them on a throne. We are generally mistaken, when we seek

For the principles of human actions any where but in the passions and affections of mankind.

So difficult was this project to execute, that it appeared chimerical to the elector's council. His ministers, Danckelman and Fuchs, objected against the frivolousness of it, the insuperable obstacles by which they foresaw it would be obstructed, the little benefit to be reaped from it, and the great trouble and expence that must necessarily be incurred to maintain the splendor of a dignity, from which nothing could be expected but empty honours. But all these arguments had no manner of weight with a prince, prepossessed with his own ideas, jealous of his neighbours, and greedy of grandeur and magnificence.

From this day, Danckelman dated his disgrace. He was sent afterwards to Spandaw, for telling his sentiments too freely, for disclosing the truth without artifice or disguise, to a court corrupted by flattery; and for contradicting a prince, who was full of his vain projects of grandeur.

There is a medium between the poison of flattery, and the wholesome severity of truth, which is consistent with the character of a man of honour. The lectures of a Misanthrope exasperate the mind; but those sage counsels, which soften the severity of truth, are like the honey, which is put round the brim of a vessel full of wormwood. It is a vehicle that conceals the bitterness of it. Happy those princes, whose ears are not so delicate, but they can have a relish for truth, even when conveyed by indiscreet speeches! but this is an effort of virtue which few men arrive at.

Danckelman was succeeded in the prince's favour by a young courtier, very little known for genius or abilities; this was baron de Colbe, afterwards count
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de Wartemberg. He was not indeed possessed of those shining virtues, which command the admiration of the public; but he was master of the art professed at court, which is that of attendance and flattery, or rather of servile meanness. Thus he entered blindly into his master's views, from a conviction, that to render himself subservient to the gratifying of his prince's passion, was the way to make his own fortune.

Colbe was not so ignorant, as not to see that he wanted an able person to assist him in his new employment. D'Ilgen, who was clerk in the secretary of state's office for foreign affairs, gained his confidence, and directed him with so much prudence, that Colbe was declared prime minister, and obtained the department of foreign affairs.

Frederick III. was flattered only with the externals of royalty, with the pomp of scenery, and with a kind of irregular self-love, which takes a pleasure in making others sensible of their inferiority. But that which was the effect of a childish vanity, turned out afterwards a master-piece of politics: for the regal dignity rescued the house of Brandenburg from that state of servitude, in which the house of Austria had hitherto kept the princes of Germany. It was a kind of bait, which Frederick flung before all his posterity, by which he seemed to say to them,

“I have procured you a title, shew yourselves worthy of it; I have laid the foundation of your grandeur, it is your business to raise the superstructure.”

Frederick III. was obliged to put every spring of politics in motion, and to exhaust the whole art of intriguing to bring his project to bear. But first of all,

all, it was necessary to make sure of the emperor's good dispositions, as the approbation of that prince was likely to draw after it the suffrages of the whole Germanic body. In order therefore to determine him in his favour, the elector restored to him the circle of Swibus, and was satisfied with the expectancy of the principality of East-Friseland, and the barony of Limburg, to which the electoral family had otherwise uncontested rights. From the same principles the troops of Brandenburg served in the Imperial armies in Flanders, on the Rhine, and in Hungary; tho' the elector had, neither directly nor indirectly, any interest in those wars, and it would have been far more advantageous to him to have observed an exact neutrality.

While Europe was thus torn with bloody wars, the elector, after his father's example, reconciled in 1695 the dukes of Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and de Strelitz, who were quarrelling about the succession. The university of Halle was founded in 1696. He built those beautiful sluices on the Salle, which facilitate the trade and exportation of salt; and in 1697, he received that extraordinary embassy, in the retinue of which the Czar Peter Alexiowitz was himself in person.

This young prince discovered, merely by the strength of his own genius, that he himself was a barbarian, and his people savages. He had now quitted his dominions for the first time, excited by the noble ambition of getting instruction, and of carrying back to his subjects the light of reason, and the use of industry, which they wanted. Nature had formed him to be a great man, but the want of education had left him a savage. Hence it came, that
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there was such a strange mixture in his conduct; actions really great, with ridiculous singularities; witty repartees, with brutish manners; noble and useful designs, with instances of the most cruel revenge. He complained himself, that he had contrived to civilize his nation, and yet he could not subdue his own ferocity. In point of morals, he was an odd phenomenon, that inspired admiration and terror. To his subjects he was like a storm, whose fury beats down steeples and trees, while it refreshes the country with fruitful rain. From Berlin he set out for Holland, and from Holland he passed over to England.

Europe was now disposed for a general peace. The allies were discouraged with the bad success of their arms; and Lewis XIV. seeing Charles II. king of Spain in a declining state of health, and of a constitution that could not hold out much longer, listened to proposals of accommodation. Tho' he restored his conquests, almost without any manner of restriction, yet he sacrificed only transient advantages to more important views. He wanted the conveniency and sweets of peace, to prepare himself for a new war, which was likely to be of the utmost consequence to the house of Bourbon. The peace was concluded at Ryswick, and the elector, who was concerned in this war only out of complaisance, reaped no benefit from it.

In the North, Augustus, elector of Saxony, was elected king of Poland in 1698, where the intrigues of Fleming, his minister and general, prevailed over the treasures distributed by prince Conti. The new king of Poland exhausted himself by his extravagant expences, which obliged him to sell the
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advowson of the abby of Quedlinburg and of Peterfberg at Halle, in 1699, to Frederick III.

The elector made a proper use of the troubles of Poland, and took possession of Elbing, as an indemnity for a sum of money due to him by the Poles. An accommodation was agreed upon, by which the Poles left a crown, and some Russian jewels, with him in pledge. Upon which the elector evacuated the town, and kept possession of the territory of Elbing, with the consent of the republic.

It was not long before the tranquillity of Europe was disturbed again in the beginning of this century, on account of the succession of Charles II. king of Spain, which upon this prince's decease was disputed by the houses of Bourbon and Austria.

Attempts had been made to prevent the bloody wars which were likely to be occasioned by this succession. Lewis XIV. had agreed with the maritime powers to a treaty of partition. Other measures were afterwards taken; but fate had decreed, that every endeavour of that kind should prove ineffectual. The young prince of Bavaria, who was designed for the throne of Spain, died even before Charles II.

The emperor, moreover, protested against this partition. This prince maintained the indivisibility of the Spanish monarchy, pretending, that as they were of the same house, divided into two branches, they had a right to succeed to each other, that of Spain to that of Austria, and alternately. The emperor Leopold and Lewis XIV. were in the same degree of kindred, both grandsons of Philip III. and both married to the daughters of Philip IV. But the right of seniority was in the house of Bourbon; and Lewis XIV. founded his pretensions chiefly on that famous

famous will of Charles II. which cardinal Portocatero, his confessor, made him sign with a trembling hand, as he was ready to expire. This will changed the face of all Europe.

Lewis XIV. resigned his rights to his grandson, Philip of Anjou, expecting to remove by the nomination of this prince, who was so distant from the crown of France, the difficulties and obstacles which the jealousy of Europe might raise against his grandeur. Philip set out for Spain, and was acknowledged king by all Europe, except the emperor Joseph.

At the commencement of this war, France was at her highest pitch of grandeur. She had been victorious over all her enemies; and the peace of Ryswick was a late instance of her moderation. Lewis XIV. displayed his splendor and magnificence throughout the universe; he was every where feared and respected. France was then like a wrestler, prepared for combat, that entered into the lists where no adversary appeared. No military preparation was omitted upon this occasion, and the armaments by sea and land were equally numerous. This monarchy, in her greatest efforts, maintained an army of four hundred thousand men; but her great generals were dead, and (before the merit of Villars was known) France was found to have 800,000 arms without a head. So true it is, that the fate of states depends very often upon a single man.

The house of Austria, almost exhausted by continual wars, was far from being in so happy a situation. Her government was in a weak and languishing condition; and tho' joined to the Germanic body, yet she was incapable of doing any thing without
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the assistance of the Dutch and the English. But with less supplies and troops than France, she had prince Eugene of Savoy at the head of her armies.

King William, who governed England and Holland, was in the utmost degree of surprise upon receiving this news, so that he acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain thro' a kind of precipitation. But when he had time to reflect and recover his natural slegm, he declared for the house of Austria, because the English would have it so, and his own interest seemed to demand it.

The north itself was plunged at this time into a war, which Charles XII. was carrying on Denmark. Charles's youth had emboldened his neighbours to attack him, but they found a prince in whom were joined the most impetuous courage and the most implacable revenge.

Frederick III. who was then at peace, was drawn into the grand alliance against Lewis XIV. which was animated by king William; from the expectation of paving the way to the regal dignity by this service, and with a view of maintaining by subsidies a numerous body of troops, and that this foreign money might support him with more ease in his prodigality and magnificence.

It is difficult to conceive how great and generous souls can stoop so low as to receive alms from their equals. Vain were the attempts of France to draw the elector off from this alliance; he was inticed to it by subsidies, by inclination, and by his expectations.

It was in this conjuncture, that the treaty of coronation was negotiated at Vienna, by which the emperor engaged to acknowledge Frederick III. king
of

Prussia, on condition that he should furnish a body of 10,000 men to the allies during the whole course of the war, that he should maintain a company in garrison at Philipsburg, that he should join with the emperor in all affairs relating to the empire, that his royal dignity should make no alteration with regard to his German territories, that he should relinquish the subsidy due to him by the house of Austria, and that he should promise to give his vote for the election of the male children of the emperor Joseph, "unless there should be very weighty and important reasons that would oblige him to chuse an emperor of another family."

This treaty was signed and ratified. Rome cried out, and Warsaw was silent. The Teutonic order protested against this act, and even presumed to reclaim Prussia; but the king of England, who wanted only allies to join with him against France, was ready to purchase them at any price. As he stood in need of the elector's assistance in the grand alliance, he was one of the first that acknowledged his new dignity. King Augustus, who was busy in securing his own crown, subscribed to it also. The king of Denmark, who only dreaded and envied Sweden, made no difficulty to join with the rest. Charles XII. being engaged in a difficult war, did not think it worth while to enter into a dispute about a title which might increase the number of his enemies; and the empire, as it was foreseen, was drawn in by the emperor. Thus ended this great affair, which had met with such opposition from the elector's council, from foreign courts, from friends, as well as foes; an affair which requiring a complication of such extraordinary circumstances to make it succeed, had been

been treated as a chimera, but of which the public now conceived a far different opinion. When prince Eugene heard the news, he said that the emperor ought to hang those ministers who had given him so treacherous a counsel.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed the year following, which was 1701. The king, whom we shall henceforward call Frederick I. went to Prussia, and at the ceremony of the consecration it was observed, that he put the crown himself on his head. In memory of this event, he created the order of the knights of the black eagle.

The public, notwithstanding, could not divest themselves of the prejudice they had conceived against this royalty. The common sense of the vulgar would have been glad to see an augmentation of power, as well as of dignity. Even those who were above the vulgar thought in the same manner; and the electress was heard to say to one of her ladies in waiting, "that it vexed her to the very heart to go and act in Prussia the theatrical queen along with her Esop." She wrote also to Leibnitz, "Do not imagine that I prefer this pageantry and pomp of crowns, which are here so much esteemed, to the charms of the philosophical entertainments we enjoyed at Charlottenburg."

At the pressing solicitations of this princess, a royal academy of sciences was erected at Berlin, of which Leibnitz was the founder and chief. Frederick I. was persuaded that it suited his dignity to maintain an academy, as a young gentleman is made to believe, that it becomes his quality to keep a pack of hounds. We intend to treat more at large of this academy in its proper place.

After

After the coronation, the king indulged his inclination for ceremony and magnificence, without any manner of bounds. At his return from Prussia, he made a magnificent entry into Berlin.

During the diversion of these feasts and solemnities, news came that Charles XII. the Alexander of the North, who in every respect would have resembled the king of Macedon, if he had been as successful, had gained a compleat victory over the Saxons in the neighbourhood of Riga. The king of Denmark, as we have already observed, and the Czar, had attacked this young hero, one in Norway, and the other in Livonia. Charles XII. obliged the Danish monarch in his own capital to conclude a peace; from thence he passed with 800,000 Swedes into Livonia, defeated 80,000 Russians in the neighbourhood of Narva, and beat 30,000 Saxons at the passage of the Dwina.

The Saxons in their flight drew near the frontiers of Prussia. Frederick I. was so much the more uneasy at this, as the greatest part of his troops were in the Imperial armies, and the war was shifting towards his new kingdom. Nevertheless, Charles XII. out of regard to the intercessions of the emperor, England, and Holland, agreed to a neutrality for Prussia.

This year 1702 was famous for the triumphs of the king of Sweden; he disposed of Poland like a sovereign, his negotiations were orders, and his battles victories; but as glorious as these victories were, still they wasted the conquerors, and obliged the young hero very often to recruit his armies. A body of Swedish troops landed in Pomerania, at which Berlin was alarmed; these marched notwithstanding through

the electorate, and arrived in Poland the place of their destination.

Frederick I. raised 8000 men new troops. Instead of employing them for the security of his own dominions, he sent them to the allied army in Flanders. He went himself to the duchy of Cleves, to demand the inheritance of William king of England, who was succeeded in the throne by Anne, the second daughter of king James.

The rights of Frederick I. were founded on the will of Frederick Henry prince of Orange, who had settled his estate, in failure of male issue, on his daughter, who was married to the great elector. King William made quite another will in favour of the Frisian prince of Nassau, and appointed the States General his executors. This inheritance consisted of the principality of Orange, Moeurs, and several lordships and estates situated in Holland and Zealand.

Frederick I. threatened to withdraw his troops from Flanders, if he did not receive satisfaction. This menace convinced the Dutch of the legality of his rights. They contrived, nevertheless, a provisional agreement, which divided the inheritance into two equal shares. A large diamond was immediately sent to Frederick I. and he consented to let his troops continue in Flanders. Lewis XIV. put the prince of Conti in possession of the principality of Orange a proceeding which so greatly offended the king, that he increased his army, and even hired some troops of Gotha and Wolfenbuttle. He declared soon after war against France, because Boufflers's army had committed some excesses in the country of Cleves. Lewis XIV. did not feel in this step a new enemy while the new king did a great deal for his passion

but nothing for his interest. He shewed his aversion to France upon all occasions, even so as to oblige duke Antony Ulrick of Wolfenbottle to renounce the engagements he had contracted with Lewis XIV. after the duke of Hanover and Zell had dispersed the troops which he maintained by the help of French subsidies.

At that time, viz. in 1703, England exerted herself greatly in favour of the house of Austria. Her fleets convoyed the arch-duke Charles, who was afterwards emperor, to a kingdom, which an English army was to help him to conquer. The enthusiasm of Europe in favour of the house of Austria can hardly be described.

In this war for the Spanish succession, the Prussian troops maintained the reputation which they had acquired under the great elector. On the Rhine they took Keyserwerth in Germany; and at the action of Hochstet, where Villars surpris'd and beat Stirheim, the prince of Anhalt made a fine retreat with 3000 Prussians under his command. I have been told, that as soon as he perceived the confusion and fright of the Austrians, he formed his troops into a square, and traversed a large plain in very good order, till he came to a wood, which he reached towards night; and all this while the French cavalry never durst attack him.

The success of the Prussian troops on the Rhine, and their good conduct in Suabia, did not secure Frederick I. against the apprehension he was under from the neighbourhood of the Swedes, whom, at that time, nothing could withstand. The genius of Peter I. and the magnificence of Augustus, were of no force against the fortune of Charles XII. This hero was

at the same time more valiant than the Czar, and more vigilant than the king of Poland. Peter preferred stratagem to bravery, Augustus pleasure to toils, and Charles the love of glory to the possession of the universe. The Saxons were often surpris'd or beaten, the Russians had learnt the art of retreating at their own expence; for the war at that time was only a continual series of incursions, the Swedish armies being always the assailants, and always victorious. But Charles XII. whose inflexible obstinacy never in the least gave way, could execute no project, but by main force: he subdued, as it were, fortune as well as his enemies. The Czar and the king of Poland supplied this enthusiastic valour by cabinet intrigues; they awakened the jealousy of Europe, and stirred up the envy of every power against the successes of an ambitious young prince, who was implacable in his hatred, and knew not how to be revenged of the kings his enemies but by dethroning them.

These intrigues did not hinder Frederick I. who had no troops then at hand, from concluding a defensive alliance with Charles XII. who had a victorious army in the neighbourhood. Frederick I. and Stanislaus acknowledged each other's regal dignity; but this treaty lasted no longer than fortune continued to favour the king of Sweden.

Notwithstanding this alliance the king provided all the fortified towns in Prussia with sufficient garisons in 1703, and the year following he sent fresh succours to the allied army in Suabia. The Prussians had a considerable share in gaining the famous battle of Hochstet; they were in the right wing under the orders of the prince of Anhalt, and in that body of the army which was commanded by prince Eugene. At the
first

first onset the Imperial horse and foot gave way to the French and Bavarians, but the Prussians stood the shock, and broke thro' the enemy. Prince Eugene being greatly vexed at the bad conduct of the Austrians, came and put himself at the head of the Prussian troops, saying that he wanted to fight with brave fellows, and not with poltroons. Every one knows that my lord Marlborough took a considerable body of the French army, both horse and foot, prisoners at the village of Blenheim, and that the loss of this battle made the French lose Bavaria and Suabia.

After terminating this glorious campaign, my lord Marlborough repaired to Berlin, to persuade Frederick I. to send a body of troops into Italy. This Englishman, who had formed a judgment of the projects of Charles XII. by seeing a map laid out on his table, soon discovered the character of Frederick I. by casting an eye on his court. He was full of submission and cringing before this prince, flattering upon every occasion his vanity, and even pressing to hold the ewer to him, as he rose from table. Frederick could not withstand him, and granted to the artful flattery of the courtier, what he would have refused, perhaps, to the merit of the great general, and to the capacity of the profound politician. The prince of Anhalt was ordered therefore to march into Italy at the head of 8,000 men.

The death of the queen Sophia Charlotte, in 1705, put the court into mourning. She was a princess of singular merit, in whom were joined all the charms of her sex, with the graces of wit and the solidity of reason. In her younger days she had travelled into Italy and France, under the care of her relations. She was designed for the crown of France, Lewis XIV.

having been struck with her beauty ; but political reasons defeated this marriage. This princess brought along with her the spirit of sociability, true politeness, and the love of arts and sciences, into Prussia. She founded, as I have already observed, the royal academy. She invited Leibnitz, and several other learned men to her court ; her curiosity leading her to discover the first principles of things. One day, as she pressed Leibnitz very hard upon this subject, this philosopher replied to her ; “ Madam, there is no possibility of satisfying you : you want to know the why and the wherefore.” Charlottenburg was the rendezvous of people of taste ; and the great variety of diversions and entertainments contributed to render this abode delightful, and the court most splendid.

Sophia Charlotte had a great and noble soul ; her religion was pure, her temper sweet, and her mind was improved with the reading of good books both in French and Italian. She died at Hanover among her own relations. They wanted to introduce a Calvinist minister into her apartment ; but she said to them ; “ Let me die in peace, without disputing.” Upon this occasion one of the ladies of honour, whom she was very fond of, was dissolved in tears. “ Do not cry for me, (says she) for I am going now to satisfy my curiosity on the principles of things, which Leibnitz could not explain to me, on space, infinity, on being, on nothing ; and I am preparing for the king my husband the shew of my funeral, where he will have another opportunity to display his magnificence.” She recommended, upon her deathbed, the learned whom she had taken under her protection, and the arts which she had cultivated, to
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the elector her brother. Frederick I. comforted himself with the ceremony of a funeral pomp, for the loss of a wife, whose death could never be too much lamented.

In Italy the war was resumed in 1706 with greater fury. The Prussians, who were sent thither at the instances of my lord Marlborough, were beaten at Casano, under prince Eugene; and at Calcinato, where General Reventlau, who commanded them, was surpris'd by the grand prior.

Prince Eugene was not invincible, but he always shew'd himself the great general in retrieving his losses; and the disgrace of Casano was soon wiped off by gaining the famous battle of Turin, in which the Prussians had the greatest share. Tho' the duke of Orleans propos'd to the French to march out of their intrenchments, yet his advice was not followed. Feuillade and Marfin had express orders from court, as it is positively affirmed, not to venture a battle. The defeat of Hochstet seem'd to have rendered the council of Lewis XIV. more cautious.

The French, who would have had double the advantage of the allies, if they had attacked them out of their intrenchments, were inferior to them every where, because the different quarters which they had to defend were of a great extent, and separated besides from each other.

The Prussians, who were in the left wing of the allied army, attacked the right of the French intrenchment, which extended towards the Doria. The prince of Anhalt was now on the border of the ditch, and the resistance made by the enemy had slacken'd the vigour of his attack, when three grenadiers slid along the Doria, and came round the French in-

trenchment at a place where it was not secured by this river. Immediately the alarm flew thro' the French army, that they were cut off; upon which they deserted their posts and fled, and at the same time the prince of Anhalt scaled the intrenchment, and gained the battle. Prince Eugene complimented the king upon the behaviour of his troops; a commendation that must have been so much the more agreeable to him, as it came from a prince who was so compleat a judge of military merit.

During this war, Frederick I. made some pacific acquisitions. He purchased the county of Tecklenburg in Westphalia of the count of Solms Braunfield; and upon the decease of the duchess of Nemours, who was in possession of the principality of Neufchatel, the council of state belonging to that principality took the regency into their own hands, and chose some of their members judges, to determine the pretensions formed by the king of Prussia on the one hand, and by the several relations of the house of Longueville on the other. Their decision was in favour of the king, who was said to have the best right as heir of the house of Orange. Lewis XIV. opposed this sentence, but he had such great interests of his own to discuss as would not permit him to attend at that time to these trifling disputes, and the sovereignty of Neufchatel was secured to the royal family by the treaty of Utrecht.

Charles XII. was now arrived to his highest pitch of prosperity. He had dethroned Augustus king of Poland, and prescribed most severe conditions of peace to him at Alt-Ranstadt in the middle of Saxony. The king wanting this prince to quit Saxony, sent his great marshal Printz to desire him not to disturb the

tran-

tranquility of Germany by continuing there with his troops.

Charles XII. who was disposed, of his own accord, to quit the territories of a prince whom he had reduced to despair, in order to play the same game with the Czar at Moscow, took it amiss that Printz should make him such a proposal, and sneering, asked him, "Whether the Prussian troops were as good as those of Brandenburg?" "Yes, Sire, replied the envoy, they are the remains of those veterans that were at Fehrbellin." As Charles XII. passed through Silesia, he obliged the emperor to restore 125 churches to the protestants of that duchy. The pope complained of this concession, and did not even spare his censures. Joseph answered, that if the king of Sweden had proposed to him to become a Lutheran himself, he did not know what might have happened.

Those very Swedes, who at that time, viz. in 1708, were the terror of the north, concurred with the Prussians and Hanoverians in re-establishing the tranquillity of the city of Hamburg, which had been disturbed by a popular insurrection. Frederick I. sent 4000 men to support the prerogatives of the magistrates. He had some difference with the city of Cologne, because the mob had broke into the house of the Prussian resident, who kept a protestant chapel. The king ordered the merchandises of Cologne to be stopped, which passed by Wesel, in their way down the Rhine, and threatened to suppress the public worship of the Roman Catholic religion in his dominions, in the same manner as had been practised, when the elector Palatine persecuted the Protestants in the Palatinate. The fear of these reprisals reduced the city of Cologne to their duty, and made them
 sensible,

fenfible, that toleration is a virtue, which it is fometimes dangerous to violate.

The court of Frederick I. was full of intrigues. This prince was like a tempeftuous fea, driving different ways according to the different winds; but in the midft of all thefe ftorms, which were raifed by the paffions of courtiers, D'Ilgén ftill continued to direct the helm of government with a fure and fteady hand. The king's favourites were men of little or no genius, their intrigues and artifices were of too coarfe a nature to efcape the public eye; even the prince royal could not diffeemble the difpleafure he conceived at their conduct. Thefe marks of his difaffection fet them upon fupporting their credit with a new prop; for which reafon they perfuaded the king to marry, though he was very infirm, living only by art, and of fo crazy a conftitution, as to be hardly able to draw the little breath ftill left in his body. They chofe a princefs of Meclenburg Schwerin for him, named Sophia Louifa, whofe age, way of thinking, and inclinations, did not agree with the king's. In fact, he had no fatisfaction with her, but in the ceremony of the nuptials; the remainder of their time was very unfortunate.

Frederick I. ftill continued to receive favourable accounts of his troops; they fignalized themfelves as much in Flanders as in Italy, and behaved moft gallantly under the command of the count of Lothum, at the battle of Oudenarde, and at the fiege of Lifle.

Fortune was tired at length with protecting the caprices of Charles XII. He had enjoyed an uninterrupted feries of fuccefs for nine years, viz. till 1709; but the laft nine years of his life were a continual fcene of adverfity. He was now returned vic-

torious

torious to Poland with a numerous army, loaded with the treasures and spoils of the Saxons.

Leipsick was the Capua of the Swedes : whether it was, that the pleasures of Saxony had softened the ferocity of those conquerors, or prosperity had rendered this prince too presumptuous, and pushed him too far ; fortune intirely forsook him. He wanted to dispose of Russia in the same manner as of Poland, and to dethrone the Czar, as he had done Augustus. With this view he marched towards the frontiers of Muscovy, to which there were two different roads ; one through Livonia, where he might have received succours from Sweden, and by which he might have advanced to the new town, which the Czar was building at that time upon the borders of the Baltic, and by that means have utterly cut off the connexion then projected between Russia and Europe. The other road was through the Uckraine, and led to Moscow by impracticable deserts. Charles determined upon the last, either because he had heard it said, that the Romans could never be conquered but at Rome, or the difficulty of the enterprize inflamed his courage, or that he depended upon Mazepa, prince of the Cossacks, who had promised to furnish his army with provisions, and to join him with a considerable number of his people. The Czar having received intelligence of this Cossack's intrigues, dispersed the few troops which Mazepa had collected, and made himself master of the magazines ; so that when the king of Sweden came before the little town of Pultowa, he found nothing but frightful deserts instead of magazines, and a fugitive prince, who came to seek for shelter in his camp, instead of a powerful ally, from whom he expected succours.

Charles was no way daunted at this disappointment.

ment. He laid siege to Pultowa, as if he wanted nothing; and he, who till now had been invulnerable, was wounded in the leg, as he was reconnoitering this paltry town too near. General Lewenhaupt, who was marching to him with provisions, ammunition, and a reinforcement of thirteen thousand men, was defeated by the Czar in three different engagements; and being forced in this necessitous conjuncture to burn the waggons under his care, he arrived in the king's camp with only three thousand men, who were quite exhausted with fatigue.

The Czar soon drew near to Pultowa, and in this plain was fought that famous battle between the two most extraordinary men of their age.

Charles, who hitherto, like the arbiter of fate, had met with nothing that could withstand his will, did every thing that could be expected from a prince who was wounded, and carried about in a litter. Peter Alexiowitz, who till now had appeared only as a legislator, gave proofs on that memorable day of his being possessed of all the qualifications of a great general; and indeed he out-did himself. But every thing proved unlucky to the Swedes; the wounding of their king, which hindered him in great measure from acting; the misery and want of his soldiers, which deprived them of strength and heart to fight; the absence of a large detachment of troops, which lost its way the very day of this decisive engagement; the numbers of their enemies, and the time they had to erect redoubts, and to dispose their troops to advantage. In short, the Swedes were beaten, and lost, by one decisive and unlucky engagement, the fruits of nine years labour, and of so many prodigies of valour.

Charles

Charles was obliged to fly for shelter among the Turks: his implacable animosity against his enemies followed him to Bender, where he endeavoured in vain, by his intrigues, to stir up the Porte against the Muscovites. Thus he fell the victim of his inflexibility of mind, which would have been called obstinacy, if he had not been an hero. After this defeat, the Swedish army laid down their arms to the Czar on the banks of the Boristhenes, as the Russian army had done to Charles XII. on the borders of the Baltic, after the battle of Narva.

Augustus finding his antagonist overthrown, thought himself discharged from the engagement which he had contracted at the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. He had a conference at Berlin with the king of Denmark and Frederick I. after which he entered Poland with an army, and the king of Denmark attacked the Swedes in Scania. Frederick I. whom those princes could not draw into the alliance, remained neuter.

In Poland the Swedish party changed sides, and went over to the Saxons. Stanislaus was with the Swedish army commanded by Crassaw. This general, finding himself inclosed by the Russians and Saxons, crossed the New Marck and arrived at Stettin, without leave obtained from Frederick I. who was uneasy to see those marches, and such numerous armies in his neighbourhood.

The king took a journey to Konigsberg, where he persuaded the Czar, who came to meet him, to restore the young duke of Courland, nephew of Frederick I. to his dominions, on condition of his marrying the niece of Peter Alexiowitz.

In the south, France made proposals of peace at the Hague; but the fermentation of minds was still

too great, and the expectation of both parties too vague and chimerical, to come to an agreement. If men were capable of reason, would they carry on such long, such obstinate and expensive wars, to return at last to conditions of peace, which seemed to them intolerable, only while they were swayed by their passions, or favoured with fortune's smiles?

The allies opened the campaign with the siege of Tournay, and with the battle of Malplaquet, where the prince royal was himself in person. The count de Finck had a great share in this victory; he was the first that forced the French intrenchments with the Prussian troops; he formed his men upon the parapet, and from thence he supported the Imperial cavalry, who were repulsed three times by the French, till more troops came up and joined him, which determined the fate of the day.

In Pomerania, the Swedes made some motions in 1710, as if they wanted to march again into Saxony. The king was apprehensive, lest the war should reach at length his own territories; and, to pacify the troubles of the north, he took the right way to increase them, by proposing an army of neutrality, which was never assembled. Crassaw agreed to a suspension of arms. As soon as Charles XII. heard of it, he protested from the extremity of Bessarabia against any neutrality whatsoever. This new treaty was broke, and had the fate of all those public acts, which necessity and weakness oblige princes to agree to at one time; and power, encouraged by favourable conjunctures, tempts them to break at another.

France renewed the negotiations of peace at Gertrudenberg; and, in the very beginning of the conferences, engaged to acknowledge the royalty of Prussia,

lia, and the sovereignty of Neufchatel. Nevertheless the peace once more miscarried, and the Prussians were employed this campaign under the prince of Anhalt at the siege of Aire and Doway, which they took. The king declared at that time, that he would not restore the town of Gueldre, where there was a Prussian garison, till the Spaniards paid him the subsidies they owed him. In fact, he was left in possession of it at the general peace.

At this time died the duke of Courland, the king's nephew. The Russians made themselves masters once more of Courland, and took Elbing; but as the king had pretensions to this town, it was garisoned by a Prussian battalion.

The passage and neighbourhood of so many armies had brought the plague into Prussia; and the dearth, which now began to be very sensibly felt, increased the fury and virulence of that contagious distemper. The king abandoned those people to their unhappy fate; and, while his revenues and subsidies were incapable to support the magnificence of his expences, he coolly saw above 200,000 miserable wretches perish with hunger, whose lives he might have preserved by a moderate liberality.

The prince royal being shocked at this cruelty, and knowing that the counts of Witgenstein* and Wartemberg were the cause of it, used every possible endeavour to get them removed. The court is subjected to storms, and the prince's favour to perils. Witgenstein was sent to Spandaw, and the king wept, when he parted with the great chamberlain, for whom he had a great affection. Wartemberg

* He was director of the finances.

berg retired into the Palatinate with a pension of 20,000 crowns.

Charles XII. as we have already observed, had refused the neutrality. The Czar, and the kings of Poland and Denmark, laid hold of this pretext to attack him in Pomerania, in 1711. Frederick I. constantly refused to enter into this alliance, being unwilling to expose his territories to the incursions, ravages, and hazards of war; and besides, he hoped his neutrality would enable him to reap some benefit from the disturbances of his neighbours.

The beginning of the operations in Pomerania were not favourable to the allies. The Danes raised the siege of Wismar, and Augustus those of Stralsund and Stettin.

While Europe thus laboured with convulsions, and the several contending powers were inflamed with hope and ambition, the emperor Joseph died. The empire chose the archduke Charles in his place, who at that time was blocked up in Barcelona, after having been crowned at Madrid, and driven away from thence by the loss of the battle of Almanza.

The death of the emperor Joseph paved the way for a general peace. The English, who were tired of the great expences they had been at, began to reflect on the original intent of the war. In proportion as the clouds of their enthusiasm vanished, they perceived that the house of Austria would be powerful enough, by retaining her hereditary dominions, the kingdom of Naples, the Milanese, and Flanders. They determined therefore to hold conferences at Utrecht, in order to establish a general peace.

The king being desirous of terminating the differences relating to the succession of Orange by a definitive

finite treaty, went in person to the duchy of Cleves, in order to regulate this affair with the prince of Friesland. But this unhappy prince was drowned in the passage of Mordyk, in his way to the Hague. On the other hand, Frederick I. made another acquisition, by the extinction of the counts of Mansfeldt. This country was sequestered between Prussia and Saxony; the Prussian regency was established at Mansfeldt, and that of Saxony at Eisleben.

Things drew now insensibly towards a peace. The conferences were held at Utrecht in 1712; and the counts of Dohnhoff, Meternich, and Biberstein repaired thither, as the king's plenipotentiaries.

During the conferences, a revolution happened in England, which Europe attributed to marshal Tallard, who was then prisoner in that country. Whether it was the effect of the marshal's policy, or only the work of hazard, my lord Marlborough's party were routed; and the pacific part of the nation prevailed. The duke of Ormond was sent to command the British troops in Flanders, where he separated from the allies at the beginning of the campaign. Prince Eugene, tho' weakened by the desertion of the English, continued to act offensively. The Prussians, under the prince of Anhalt, were employed in the siege of Landrecy. But Villars marched to Denain, where he fell upon my lord Albemarle's camp, and defeated him intirely, before prince Eugene could come up to his assistance. This victory restored Marchienne, Quesnoy, Doway, and Buchain, to the French.

The allies followed the example of the English, and began to think seriously of a peace. The emperor was the only prince that would continue the

war ; whether the slowness of his council had not yet had time to come to a determination, or that this prince thought himself strong enough to withstand Lewis XIV. by himself. But his affairs only grew worse.

The king at that time surprised the Dutch garison at Mœurs, and by possession maintained his rights to that town.

But the pacific dispositions of the south had no influence on the north. The king of Denmark entered the duchy of Bremen, and took Stade. The Czar, and the king of Poland, attempted a descent upon the isle of Rugen, but were disappointed by the good disposition made by the Swedes. The allies were not more successful in the siege of Stralsund, which they were obliged to raise ; for Steinbock had gained a victory over the Saxons and Danes at Gadebusch in the duchy of Mecklenburg ; and, upon the arrival of a Swedish reinforcement of 10,000 men in Pomerania, this whole country was left a prey to the enemy. The Danes were obliged to abandon Rostock, and to resign this city to the king's troops, as director of the circle of Lower Saxony ; but the Swedes drove the Prussians from thence. The king's neutrality was no way infringed, and he continued to negotiate, in order to dispose the minds of the contending princes to some reconciliation, and to divert the storm that threatened his own dominions.

In the beginning of the year 1713, Frederick I. died of a slow disorder, which had been a long time bringing him to his end. He did not live to see the conclusion of the general peace, nor tranquillity re-established in his neighbourhood. He was thrice married ; the first time to a princess of Hesse,
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by whom he had a daughter, who was married to the hereditary prince of Hesse, now king of Sweden. His second wife was Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, mother of Frederick-William, who succeeded him; and his third wife, who was a princess of Mecklenburg, he repudiated for her madness.

We have seen the several passages of the life of Frederick I. We are now only to take a cursory view of his character. His mind was flexible to every kind of impression, like a glass that faithfully represents the different objects set before it. He was violent by caprice, and mild thro' indolence; confounding trifles with grandeur; fond of the superficial, but neglectful of the solid; and more busy in the pursuit of empty show, than of useful attainments. He sacrificed 30,000 of his subjects in the emperor's wars to attain to the regal dignity: and he aspired after this dignity only to indulge his pride, and to justify his sumptuous dissipations under specious appearances.

He was indeed magnificent and generous; but how base the purchase, by which he acquired the means of indulging his passions! He bartered the blood of his people with the English and Dutch for money; like the Tartars, who sell their cattle to the butchers of Poland for slaughter. He was upon the point of recalling 15000 men from Flanders, when the Dutch sent him a large diamond, as part of the succession of the prince of Orange; upon which the troops of Brandenburg were permitted to continue with the allies.

If we ascend to the origin of things, in order to have a just idea of the generosity of a prince, we shall find, that as he is the first servant of the state, he is accountable to it for the use to which he ap-

plies the public money ; that he ought to appropriate a certain part of it to the support of his dignity, and the remainder to reward the services and merit of his subjects ; to enrich the state by his liberality ; to maintain the equality of conditions ; not to oppress the poor, in order to fatten the rich ; to relieve the public miseries with generosity ; to assist the unfortunate of every kind and condition ; to shew magnificence in whatever relates to the general body of the state ; and to direct all his expences to the advantage of his people.

The expence which Frederick I. was so fond of was far from being of this kind ; it was rather the dissipation of a vain and prodigal prince. His court was one of the most magnificent in Europe ; and his embassies were as splendid as those of the Portuguese. He granted very large pensions to his favourites. His buildings were magnificent, and his entertainments grand ; his stables were filled with horses, his offices with cooks, and his cellars with wine. He gave a fief of forty thousand crowns to a huntsman who helped him to kill a large stag. He was very near mortgaging the country of Halberstadt to the Dutch, to purchase the *Pitt*, a large diamond, which was sold afterwards to Lewis XV. in the time of the regency. His domestics were sure of making their fortune, if they could but bear the first transports of his passion. But there was no proportion in his expences : the absurdity of his extravagance will appear more evident, if we examine closely into the state of his revenues. There we perceive robust members of a gigantic body, close to feeble limbs that are perishing with want. He sold 20,000 men to maintain 30,000. His court was like to those

great rivers, which swallow up the water of the little rivulets. His favourites were loaded with largesses, while the inhabitants of Lithuania and Prussia perished with famine and pestilence ; and this generous prince refused to relieve them. An avaricious prince is to his people, like a physician who lets his patient be stifled in his blood : and an extravagant prince is like one that kills him with too much bleeding.

Frederick I. was never constant in his favours ; whether it was that he repented his bad choice, or whether he had no indulgence for human infirmities. All his favourites, from baron Danckleman down to count Witgenstein, had an unhappy end. The bad education, which he had received in his youth, influenced his whole life ; his mind was weak and superstitious. He was particularly attached to Calvinism, to which he would willingly have reduced every other religion ; and in all probability he would have been a persecutor, if priests had introduced magnificence and ceremonies into persecutions. He composed a book of common prayer, which for his credit was never printed. If he is deserving of praise, it is for having preserved peace in his dominions during his whole reign, while the territories of his neighbours were ravaged by war ; for being naturally of a benevolent temper, and for never having violated his conjugal vow. In short, he was great in trifling things, and a trifler in great things ; and it is a disadvantage to him to be placed in history between a father and son, whose superior abilities eclipse his merit.

FOUR
DISSERTATIONS.

DISSERTATION I.

Of manners, customs, industry, and the progress of the human understanding in the arts and sciences.

TO have an adequate knowledge of a state, it is not sufficient to be acquainted with its origin, wars, treaties, government, religion, and revenues. These are indeed the principal parts on which the historian displays the elegance of his style. But there are others, which, though not so entertaining as the former, are yet entirely as useful. Among these I reckon whatever relates to the manners of the inhabitants, as the original of new customs, the abolishing of old ones, the rise of industry, the causes that first encouraged it, the reasons which accelerated or retarded the progress of the human understanding; and, above all, whatever chiefly characterizes the genius of the nation whose

whose history we undertake to write. These subjects will always be interesting to politicians and philosophers; and I may venture to affirm, that this sort of detail is no way unworthy of the majesty of history.

I shall present the reader with a specimen of the most distinguishing strokes of the genius of the Brandenburgers in every age. But how great a difference between those ages? Nations separated by immense seas, and dwelling under opposite tropics, do not differ more in their customs, than the Brandenburgers from themselves, if we compare those in the time of Tacitus, to those under Henry the Fowler; those under Henry the Fowler, to those under John the Cicero; and, in fine, the latter to the inhabitants of the electorate under Frederick I. king of Prussia.

The generality of mankind, who are amused with an infinite variety of objects, look upon the magic lanthorn of this world without reflexion. They take no more notice of the continual changes which happen in regard to customs, than in a great city, of the daily ravages committed by death, provided it spares the small circle of their acquaintance. And yet, after a short absence, we find at our return different inhabitants and different customs.

How instructive and entertaining it is, to survey past ages, and to see by what analysis they are connected to our times! To take a nation in its rudest state of simplicity, to follow it in its progress, and to trace it down to the time in which it was civilized, is the same as examining the silk-worm in all its metamorphoses, from its being a chrysalis, till it becomes a butterfly.

But how mortifying is this study ! It is but too certain, that the immutable law of nature obliges mankind to pass through a great many impertinent trifles, before they can attain to any reasonable or solid acquirement. Thus, if we ascend to the origin of nations, we shall find them all equally barbarous. Some have arrived by slow gradations, and by a great many windings, to a certain degree of perfection. Others have reached it by rapid flights ; but all have taken different ways. And even politeness, industry, and the several arts, have imbibed a taste of the soil, in the different countries into which they have been transplanted, from the indelible character of each nation. This will appear still more evident to those who will please to read the different works written at Padua, London, or Paris ; they may be easily distinguished, even when the authors of them treat the same subjects ; if we except only the abstruser parts of geometry.

The inexhaustible variety which nature has sown in those general and particular characters, is a proof of her fertility, and at the same time of her economy. For though the innumerable nations, which cover the face of the earth, have each their different genius ; yet it seems that some remarkable strokes, which distinguish them from the rest, are unalterable. Each nation has its peculiar character, which may be modified more or less by the education they receive, but whose essentials are never effaced. I might easily confirm this opinion, by proofs drawn from natural philosophy ; but I shall not digress from my subject. It follows therefore, that princes have never intirely changed the manner of thinking peculiar to a nation ; that they have never been able to
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force nature to produce those great men, whose name alone is capable of rendering ages memorable to posterity ; and though the working of the mine is subject to their regulations, yet their power does not extend to the fruitful veins ; these open themselves of a sudden, furnishing treasures in abundance, and are often lost, when pursued with the greatest avidity.

Whosoever has read Tacitus and Cæsar, will easily distinguish the Germans, French, and English, by the colours in which they are painted ; and which have not been effaced in the course of eighteen centuries. How then is it possible, that a single reign should compass what so many ages have not been able to attain ? A statuary may shape a piece of stone into what form he pleases ; he may make an Æsop or an Antinous of it, but he cannot change the nature of the stone. Every nation will have some predominant vices and virtues. If the Romans therefore appear more virtuous under the Antoninus's than the Tiberius's, it is because crimes were more severely punished under the former ; vice durst not lift up its unhallowed head, but the vicious were still in being. Princes may give a certain varnish of politeness to their nation ; they may maintain the laws in their full vigour, and the sciences in a middling condition ; but they can never alter the nature of things ; they can add only a transient shadow to the prevailing colour of the picture.

Of this we have seen proofs in our days in Russia. Peter I. ordered the Muscovites to cut off their beards, and to believe in the procession of the Holy Ghost ; he made some of them dress in the French taste, and instituted schools for the learning of different lan-

languages; and yet the Russians will be still, perhaps, for many ages distinguished from the French, the Italians, and other European nations.

I really believe, that nothing but the intire devastation of a country, and the repeopling it with foreign colonies, is capable of producing an intire change in a nation. But we must observe, that it is then no longer the same nation; and it would be still a question, whether the climate and food would not in time assimilate the new inhabitants to the old ones.

I thought it necessary to separate this fragment, which treats of the Brandenburghers, from the rest of the history, because in the former I was confined to politics and war; and if the following particulars which relate to customs, industry and arts, were interspersed in the body of the work, they might have easily escaped the reader; whereas he will find them here collected under one point of view, where by themselves they form a small body of history.

In the commencement of this work, I have been guided by Latin writers, as there was none of the country during that period. Lockelius, whom I shall often have occasion to quote, has been of service to me in the dark regencies of the margraves of the four first races; and the archives have furnished me with materials for the most remarkable passages during the time that the house of Hohenzollern has been in possession of this electorate, which brings us down to our days.

THE FIRST EPOCH A.

In the long enumeration which Tacitus makes of the people of Germany, he is mistaken in regard to
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the word *Ingevmner*, which signifies inhabitants, and that of *Germanier*, which implies warlike people, whom through ignorance of the language he took for particular nations. The number, of those warriors, with which this country was filled, gave it the name of Germany.

The first inhabitants of the Marck were Teutons, and after them the Semnons, who, according to the relation of Tacitus, were the noblest among the Suevi.

In those remote days Germany was quite barbarous; the natives who were rude and unpolished, lived in forests, where they had little huts for their habitations. They married young, and got children fast, for the women were seldom barren. The nation increased daily, and as the children confined themselves to the culture of their paternal estates, instead of clearing new lands, it followed of course, that since these small inheritances did not, even in the very best years, afford a sufficient maintenance for so numerous a people, they were obliged to quit their country to find elsewhere a subsistence. Hence that great inundation of Barbarians, who overran Gaul, Africa, and even the Roman empire.

The Germans were huntsmen through necessity, and warriors by inclination. Their poverty rendered the intestine wars which they had among themselves very short; for they were not influenced by interest. Their generals, who afterwards became princes, were called *Fursten*, which signifies leaders. They were famous for the largeness of their size, the robustness of their bodies, and for being inured to the most laborious exercises. Their principal virtues were their valour, and the fidelity with which they fulfilled their engage-

engagements. These virtues they celebrated by hymns, which they taught their children, in order to transmit them to posterity.

Even the Latin writers are unexceptionable witnesses of the German valour, by acquainting us with the defeat of Varus and some of the other chiefs of the Roman armies. If we are apt to commend the courage of a nation, which with equal discipline and forces is victorious over another; how much more ought we to admire the bravery of those Germans, who having nothing to rely upon but a confidence in their own valour, and an inflexible resolution never to yield, triumphed over the Roman discipline, and over those legions, who had but just completed the conquest of half the known world!

Notwithstanding what most historians say, it is however true, that the Romans passed the Elbe in spite of the Suevi. For we have discovered in the neighbourhood of Zossen, within six German miles of Berlin, in a square camp of four hundred paces, a vast number of urns, filled with the medals of the emperor Antoninus, and of the empress Faustina, and with dressing toys belonging to the Roman ladies. This cannot be a field of battle, for the Suevi would never have buried the spoils of their enemies under ground, to decorate their funeral. I think we may safely conjecture, that this place served as a camp to some of the advanced cohorts, which the Romans had sent beyond the Elbe, to apprise them of the motions and approach of the Barbarians.

Brandenburg is the most ancient city of the Marck. The annals of this place, printed in 1595, fix the foundation of it in the year of the world 3588, which is about 416 years before the vulgar æra. It is said

to have been built by Brennus, who ransacked Rome, and to have taken its name from its founder. Amidst the obscurity of those days we have been able to come at the names of some of the kings of the Vandals, as Hoterus and Wenceslaus, who in all probability were more ambitious and troublesome than the rest. We find moreover in the annals of this country, that Witikind king of the Saxons, Hermanfred king of Thuringia, and Richimir king of the Franks, entered into an alliance, subdued the Semnons, and were the first who inclosed the conquered towns with walls, to keep the country in subjection.

The SECOND EPOCH A.

Charlemain, at length, took Brandenburg in 781; and when Henry the Fowler had, in the year 981, intirely subdued the Saxons who inhabited those parts, he established margraves, or governors of the frontiers.

The manners of the people were civilized under the margraves, but the country was very poor. It produced only the bare necessaries of life, but stood in need of the industry of its neighbours for several conveniences; and as no other country wanted its assistance, there was a greater exportation than importation of specie. This disproportion in the circulation, which continually diminished the value of money, lowered the price of all sorts of commodities. Provisions were so cheap, that under the elector John II. of Ascania, a bushel of wheat was sold for twenty eight farthings, a bushel of rie for twenty eight deniers, and six hens were bought in the market for one gros.

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The married men of Berlin passed at that time for honest but jealous husbands. The annals of this country * afford an example, which gives us a lively description of the manners of those days. During the regency of the elector Otho of Bavaria, a secretary of the bishop of Magdeburg went to bathe at the public bath at Berlin; where happening to meet in the street with a young woman, who was a burgher's wife, he proposed to her in joke to go and bathe with him. The woman was affronted at this proposal; upon which a crowd of people got about him; and the burghers of Berlin, who understood no railery, dragged the poor secretary into a public market place, where they beheaded him without any other form of trial. If these people are still jealous, at least their revenge is not so unmerciful.

The country was in a most miserable situation under the princes of the four first races; and indeed it could not be otherwise, as it was continually changing masters. Otho of Bavaria was obliged to sell the electorate, in 1373, to the emperor Charles IV. The latter resided at Tangermunde, where he kept a splendid court, and built a large castle, whose ruins are to be seen to this day. While Jodocus had the government of the country of Brandenburg, the Vaudois, who were persecuted in France, took shelter in Angermunde, which from thence was called the heretical city. I cannot find the reason why the Vaudois should fly for an asylum to the country of Brandenburg, which was inhabited by catholics; nor why they were received, tho' detested.

The princes of the house of Luxemburg were the greatest oppressors of the people: they mortgaged the
electorate,

* Lockelius in 1364.

electorate, whenever they wanted money, to those who were willing to lend them the greatest sums. And those creditors, who looked upon this wretched province as a mortgage, used every art of oppression to enrich themselves, living there at discretion, as in an enemy's country. The highways were infested with robbers, all civil polity was banished, and the proceedings of the courts of justice were superseded. The lords of Quitzau and Neuendorff, enraged at the odious yoke under which their country groaned, declared open war against the petty tyrants who oppressed it. During this total confusion and state of anarchy, the people were in the utmost misery. The nobility were one the while the instruments, another time the avengers of tyranny; and the generality of the nation, whose spirits were depressed by the severity of slavery, and by the rigour of a barbarous Gothic government, grew quite insensible and paralytic.

The THIRD EPOCH.

The emperor Sigismund disimbroiled this chaos in 1414, by conferring the country of Brandenburg and the electoral dignity on Frederick of Hohenzollern, margrave of Neurenberg. This prince required his new subjects to yield homage to him; but the people, long accustomed to cruel masters, with difficulty submitted to this mild and legitimate government. Frederick I. reduced the nobility by the terror of a large cannon, with which he beat down the castles of the rebels. This cannon was a four and twenty pounder, and was all the artillery he had.

The spirit of sedition was not so quickly suppressed.

fed. The burghers of Berlin revolted several times against their magistrates ; and Frederick II. appeased these commotions with prudence and lenity. This prince was obliged, for want of money, to mortgage the tolls of Schiffelbein and Drambourg to Denis lord of Osten for the sum of 1500 florins, to defray his charges to the diet of Nurenberg.

In this situation things continued till the time of John the *Cicero*. This elector made the first efforts to rescue his people out of that state of rusticity and ignorance ; and indeed to be only sensible of their ignorance was a great matter in those days. Tho' this dawn of knowledge was but a very weak twilight, yet it produced the foundation of the university of Frankfort on the Oder in 1495. Conrad Wipina, professor of Leipstick, was the rector of this new university, and compiled the statutes. A thousand students were inrolled the very first year in the registers of the university.

Lucky it was for the progress of the sciences, that Joachim Nestor was as much their protector as his father. This prince was the Leo X. of Brandenburg ; he was master of the mathematics, astronomy, and history ; he spoke French, Italian and Latin, with ease ; he was fond of polite learning, and munificent in encouraging those who professed it.

The civilizing of a nation that had been in a state of barbarousness for so many ages, could not be the work of a day ; it must be a long time before the soft commerce of sciences can communicate itself to a whole nation. The young people indeed applied themselves to study, but those of a more advanced age preserved still an attachment to their ancient cus-

toms and to their rusticity. The nobility still continued to rob on the highways. There was such a general depravation of manners in Germany, that the diet of the empire assembled at Triers, being willing to put a stop to it, forbad people to blaspheme, and to abandon themselves to that excess of debauchery, which debases human nature, and renders men inferior to brutes.

At that time there were vineyards planted in the electorate; a barrel of wine was sold for thirty groses, and a bushel of rie for twenty one farthings. There was a greater circulation of species; and Joachim Nestor erected some new buildings, and among others the castle of Potzdam. Every body dressed after the German fashion, which answers very near to the old Spanish dress, except that the men wore large ruffs. The princes, * counts and knights, wore gold chains about their necks; and none but gentlemen were permitted to have three gold rings in their cravat. The women's dress was like that wore at present by the sex at Augsburg, or by the maidens of Strasburg.

They began then to be acquainted with a kind of luxury proportioned to the times; but as we do not find that there was any improvement made in the industry or commerce of the people of Brandenburg, the augmentation and cause of the riches of those days are a difficult problem to solve.

As early as the year 1560, we find a vast difference in the expences of the electors; for when Joachim II. went to the diet of Frankfort, which was summoned in 1562, by the emperor Ferdinand, for the election of a king of the Romans, he had sixty

* Lockelius.

eight gentlemen in his retinue, and an equipage of 452 horses. Gaming was introduced at that time; this custom shifted from the court to the town; but they were obliged to suppress it, because some burghers had lost above a thousand crowns at a sitting.

We read in our annals, that at the marriage of Joachim II. to Sophia daughter of Sigismund king of Poland, the elector lay the first night of his nuptials armed cap-a-pee with his young wife; as if the soft engagements of love required such formidable preparations. There was a mixture of ferocity and magnificence in the customs of those days. The cause of this singularity was the desire the nation had to emerge from its barbarousness; it sought for the right road, but missed it. They were so stupid as to confound ceremonies with politeness, magnificence with dignity, debauchery with pleasure, pedantry with learning, and the clownish flatness of buffoons with the ingenious sallies of wit.

To this time we must refer the foundation of the university of Konigsberg by Albert duke of Prussia.

The expences of the electors still continued to increase. John George made a superb interment for his father; this is the first funeral pomp of any kind of magnificence that we meet with in the history of Brandenburg. The predominant passion of this prince was his fondness of entertainments; he loved to display his grandeur. He celebrated the birth* of his eldest son with entertainments that lasted four days. These diversions consisted of tournaments, naval combats, fireworks, and running at the ring. The lords who composed the four troops, were dressed in velvet richly imbroidered with gold and silver; but still the character

* Lockelius.

character of the age was discernible thro' this magnificence. At the head of each troop there was a buffoon, who sounded a horn in a ridiculous manner, and committed a thousand extravagances, while the court mounted the turret of the castle to see the fire-works go off †. When Christian king of Denmark came through Berlin, the elector received him in a magnificent manner; he went out to meet him, attended with a great number of princes, counts, and lords, and with a guard of 300 horse. The king made his entry in a black velvet chariot laced with gold, drawn by eight white coursers, with bits and caparisons all of silver. They quite tired him with entertainments, all in this taste.

Luxury, perhaps, was carried to excess; for Joachim enacted sumptuary laws. He employed his revenues in useful establishments, and founded Joachim's college, which was afterwards removed to Berlin by the elector Frederick-William, where still continues this school, the most flourishing, without doubt, and the best regulated in all the territories of Prussia.

Under the administration of John George, a great many inventions were still wanting, that contribute to the conveniency of life. The common custom of coaches goes no higher than John Sigismund; in whose reign mention is made of it, on account of the homage which this prince yielded at Warsaw for the duchy of Prussia. He had thirty six coaches, each six horses in his train, besides fourscore led horses. The ambassador, whom he sent to the diet of the empire at the election of the emperor Matthias, had three coaches. These were a kind of ugly travelling ve-

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† The annals mention, that the elector put his head out of a dormer-window, and cried out to the engineer: *John, set fire as soon as I have whistled.*

hicles, made of four boards, which were put together in a very clumsy manner. Who could have then foretold, that this art would be carried to so high a degree of perfection in the eighteenth century, as to make coaches that come to 20000 crowns, and that they should find purchasers ?

The efforts made by Brandenburg and Germany to civilize themselves, were not quite useless. The number of universities increased, among which was that of Halle. At the same time an academy was formed at Dessau for the improvement of the German tongue, under the name of the *fruitful society*. This might have been of some service; especially as the German language branched out into an infinite number of dialects, wants proper rules to fix its true standard; besides, we have no classic writers; and if we have still some remains of our ancient republican liberty, 'tis only the barren privilege of mangling a rude and almost barbarous language according to our pleasure and fancy.

These excellent institutions, which perhaps would have greatly contributed to the advancement of learning, were hardly sketched, when the thirty years war supervened, which overturned and destroyed all Germany.

The states of Brandenburg had a share in the government till the reign of George-William, viz. 1621; they were consulted on all public affairs, and their advice was followed. When the war drew near to the electorate, they began to think of its defence. Till that time the elector kept only his own guards, and when he wanted to raise troops, the nobility were summoned, who were obliged to appear, and with their paramours formed the cavalry; the infantry

fantry consisted of their vassals. The elector *, and especially his minister count Schwartzenberg, were inclined to maintain a regular militia. The states consented to levy soldiers ; and after the men were picked out, they were ordered to beg about the country for their subsistence, till there should be occasion for their service. At the same time an edict was published, ordering the country people to give a farthing a piece to this militia if they came to beg, and to beat them soundly if they were not satisfied. Thus this elector, instead of having disciplin'd troops, had only privileged beggars.

The count of Schwartzenberg reduced afterwards the power of these states, tho' they had never abused it. In short, in the course of this bloody war, the year 1636 was the most unfortunate for this electorate : the Swedes were at Werben, the Imperialists at Magdeburg and Rathenaw, Wrangle at Stettin, and Morosini in the New Marck, when thirty six thousand Imperialists marched through the country, pillaging and destroying every place they came to. This was too much : the country of Brandenburg, exhausted by the number of troops whom it had maintained, and who had ravaged it for some years, could stand it no longer. Provisions were become extremely dear, an ox was sold for a hundred crowns, a bushel of wheat for five, a bushel of barley for three ; and the scarcity of specie raised the value of it to such a degree, that a ducat was rated at ten crowns. Some gentlemen who had secured their provisions from the rapaciousness of the enemy, wanted to reap an advantage from the circumstances of this dearth ; but the country people, not having wherewithal to purchase this grain, and grown desperate

* Sebaldus's chronicle.

by the famine, fell upon those inhumane masters, and plundered their granaries. The famine continued with the same violence, and was followed by the plague, which completed the misery of the country. The remainder of the unfortunate inhabitants, whom death and the enemy had spared, being unable to withstand such a sea of calamities, abandoned their unhappy country, and fled for refuge to the neighbouring provinces.

The Marck was then one frightful desert, which exhibited a lamentable spectacle of ruins, conflagrations, and of every scene of calamity that attends a long and furious war. Hardly was it possible, amidst such a horrid scene of confusion, and in places intirely laid waste, to discern the traces of the ancient inhabitants.

There would have been an end of Brandenburg for ever, if Frèderick-William, who began to reign in 1640, had not taken such immense pains to retrieve it. His prudence and resolution, together with time, overcame all those obstacles; he concluded a peace, and immediately set about a new creation.

Brandenburg, in fact, became a new country, formed of a mixture of all nations, who afterwards intermarried with those few of the ancient inhabitants, that had escaped destruction; whether it was owing to a plentiful year, or for want of consumption, the price of provisions fell so low, that a bushel of wheat was sold for twelve grosses.

Among the other mischiefs occasioned by thirty years war, we may reckon the ruin of the little trade than carried on in north of Germany. Formerly we had our salt from Holland and France; but as the stock could not be supplied during those troubles, it

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was soon exhausted. The want of so necessary a commodity obliged people to have recourse to industry; and they discovered salt-pits at Halle, which were sufficient to supply not only the wants of Brandenburg, but likewise of the neighbouring provinces.

The first colony that came to settle in the electorate were Dutch. These revived the several handicraft trades, and formed a project for selling timber, with which the country abounded; for the thirty years had turned almost all the soil into a forest. The sale of this timber constituted afterwards one of the principal branches of our commerce. The elector gave leave to some Jewish families to settle in his dominions; the neighbourhood of Poland rendering them very useful for vending in that kingdom the refuse of our friperery.

Not long after a favourable event ensued, which considerably promoted the designs of the great elector. Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nants in 1684, upon which occasion at least 300,000 French quitted the kingdom. Those who had most money retired to England and Holland; but the most industrious part of them, to the number of twenty thousand, or thereabouts, took shelter in the country of Brandenburg. These helped to re-people our desert villages, and brought all sorts of manufactures amongst us, which we wanted.

In order to judge of the advantages which the government received from this colony, it will be necessary to give some account of the state of our manufactures before the thirty years war, and of the perfection they arrived to after the revocation of the edict of Nants.

Our commerce consisted formerly in the sale of

our corn, wine, and wool; there were some woollen manufactures, but they were very inconsiderable. At the time of John Cicero there were only 700 manufacturers in the whole country. During the administration of John Joachim, the duke of Alva exercised his tyrannical cruelty over the inhabitants of the Low countries. That wise princess, Elizabeth queen of England, made a proper use of the folly of her neighbours, by inviting the manufacturers of Gant and Bruges into her dominions. These people manufactured the English wool, and obtained a law to prohibit the exportation of it.

Our manufacturers till that time had made no good cloth, without a mixture of English wool; and, as soon as this was withheld, the manufacture declined. The electors of Saxony, Augustus and Christian, followed queen Elizabeth's example, by inviting the Flemish artists to their country, who put their manufactures in a flourishing condition. The want of foreign wool, the decline of our manufactures, and the rise of those of our neighbours, induced the nobility of Brandenburg to sell their wool to strangers; which was very near being the utter ruin of our manufactures. In order to remedy this evil, John Sigismund prohibited the importation of foreign cloths into the country; but this prohibition was ridiculous, because the manufactures of Brandenburg were insufficient to furnish as much cloth as the country wanted, which obliged them to have recourse to the industry of their neighbours. Very likely more lucky expedients would have been found out, if the thirty years war had not broke out soon after, which overturned all projects and manufactures, and even the state itself.

At the accession of Frederick-William to the regency,

gency, there was no manufacture in this country, either of hats, stockings, serges, or any kind of woollen stuffs. We are indebted to the industry of the French for all these manufactures: they erected factories of cloths, serges, stuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, woven stockings, all sorts of hats, and dying in different colours. Some of those refugees turned shopkeepers, and retailed the several wares that were fabricated by their countrymen. Berlin now had goldsmiths, jewellers, watchmakers, and carvers. The French, who settled in the open country, planted tobacco; and variety of fruits, and excellent pulse, were seen to grow in a sandy soil, which, by their careful cultivation, was become an admirable kitchen-garden. To encourage so useful a colony, the great elector allowed them a yearly pension of forty thousand crowns, which they enjoy to this day.

Thus the electorate was in a more flourishing condition under the administration of Frederick-William than it had been under any of his ancestors. The great improvement of the manufactures increased the different branches of commerce, which was afterwards confined chiefly to our corn, timber, woollen manufactures, and salt. The use of post-houses, hitherto unknown in Germany, was introduced by the great elector throughout all his dominions, from Emmerick as far as Memel. The cities, before that time, paid arbitrary taxes, which were suppressed, and an excise was substituted in their stead. The towns began to be civilized, the streets were paved, and lanthorns were set up at proper distances to light the inhabitants. This civil regulation was absolutely necessary; for the courtiers were obliged to go in stilts to Potsdam,

dam, when the court happened to reside there, because of the dirt that lay in heaps in the streets.

Frederick-William was the first elector that kept a regular body of disciplined troops in his service. The battalions of foot consisted of four companies, each of 150 men; the third part of a battalion were armed with pikes, the rest with muskets. The infantry wore their regimentals, and had cloaks. The horse provided themselves with arms and horses. They wore a half armour, fought in squadrons, and often carried a train of artillery along with them.

The great elector, though generous and magnificent in his own person, established sumptuary laws. The court was numerous and splendid. At the entertainment which he gave at the marriage of his niece, the princess of Courland, there were fifty-six tables, with forty covers at each repast. The indefatigable activity of this prince procured every useful art to his country; but he had not time to introduce the polite ones.

The continual wars, together with the mixture of new inhabitants, had already made a change in the antient manners. A great many of the French and Dutch customs were adopted by our people: but the predominant vices were drunkenness and avarice. The youth were forbidden all unlawful commerce with the fair sex; and some smarting remembrances, which are contracted by dying away with pleasure, were unknown at that time. The court was fond of points, double meanings, and buffoonries: the children of the nobility applied themselves again to study, and the education of youth fell insensibly into the hands of the French. We are indebted also to this nation for a certain freedom in conversation, and for an easier

easier carriage than is commonly met with in the Germans.

The change which supervened in the state after the thirty years war was universal; it was felt in the specie, as well as in every thing else. Formerly the silver mark was on the footing of nine crowns throughout all the empire, till the year 1561, when the calamity of the times obliged the elector to have recourse to all manner of expedients to supply the necessities of the state. He published, the same year, an edict, which regulated the value of the current specie; and he ordered grosses and fenins to be coined to a considerable sum, whose intrinsic value was very near equivalent to the third part of the real value of this specie. As the value of this money was imaginary, it was soon cried down, and fell one half. The old crowns of good allay were worth from twenty eight to thirty grosses, for which reason we call them bank crowns. In order to remedy these abuses, the electors of Brandenburg had a conference at Cinna in 1667; and they agreed to fix the value of specie upon a new footing, by which the fine silver mark was to be returned to the public in all kinds of money, from the crown to the fenin, at ten crowns sixteen grosses. After this we struck florins, and half florins; and the value of the silver mark continued fixed to ten crowns.

In the year 1690, Frederick I. agreed with the elector of Saxony and the duke of Hanover on proper measures for keeping up the value of specie, on the same footing as was determined at the convention of Cinna; but finding this impracticable, they consented that the current specie of florins, and pieces of eight grosses, should be struck through all their dominions

dominions at the proportion of twelve crowns. This is what we call the footing of Leipfick, which ftill fubfifts.

The new colonies eftablifhed by the great elector, did not indeed arrive to their full perfection till the reign of Frederick I. We had then a manufacture of tapeftry equal to that of Bruffels, our laces were not inferior to thofe of France, our glaffes of New-ftadt furpaffed thofe of Venice in whitenefs, and our army was drefsed in cloth of our own manufactures. In the year 1700 the troops changed their arms; the ufe of pikes was abolifhed, and the infantry had fufils given them; the cavalry kept no other part of their armour than the cuirafs, and they were obliged to wear regimentals.

The court was numerous and fplendid; and there was a great circulation of fpecie, arifing from foreign fubfidies. Luxury began now to fhew itfelf in liveries, drefs, tables, equipage, and buildings. The king had two of the moft able architects in Europe in his fervice; befides Schluter, who was no way inferior to them in merit, and whole fine carvings heightened the beauty of their architecture. Bott made the fine gate of Wefel, and gave the defigns of the palace and of the arfenal of Berlin. He built likewife the poft-houfe, at the corner of the great bridge, and the beautiful portico of the caftle of Potzdam, whole merit is well known to the lovers of architecture. Lofander built the new wing of the palace of Konigsberg, and the mint, which was afterwards pulled down. Schluter decorated the arfenal with thofe trophies which are fo greatly admired by connoiffieurs; and it was he that caft the equeftrian ftatue of the great elector, which paffes for a mafter-piece.

piece. The king embellished the city of Berlin with the church of the cloyster, with arches, and some other edifices. He adorned also the pleasure-houses of Orangebourg, Potzdam and Charlottenburg, with all manner of improvements and decorations.

The polite arts, which are generally the fruits of abundance, began now to flourish. The academy of painting was founded, of which Pefne, Mayer, Widde- man and Leigeber, were the first professors. However, we have not had one painter of reputation from their school. But the most remarkable event, and that which more nearly relates to the progress of the human understanding, was the foundation of the royal academy of sciences in 1700. The queen Sophia-Charlotte contributed chiefly to this establishment. This princess had a great genius, with a large share of learning: she did not think it beneath the dignity of a queen to shew her regard for a philosopher. It is plain that the philosopher I am speaking of was Leibnitz: and as those whom heaven has favoured with a particular dignity of mind are capable of raising themselves upon a level with sovereigns, she entered into an intimate acquaintance with Leibnitz, and proposed him as the only person capable of laying the foundation of this new academy. Leibnitz, who, if I may be allowed the expression, had more than one soul, was worthy of presiding in an academy, which, in case of need, he alone might have represented. He established four classes, one for natural philosophy and physic, the second for the mathematics, the third for the language and antiquities of Germany, and the last for the oriental languages and antiquities. The most celebrated members of our academy were Messrs Basnage, Bernouilli, La Croze, Guillelmini, Hartzoker, Herman, Kirch,

Kirch, Romer, Sturmer, Varignon, des Vignoles, Werenfels and Wolff. After them appeared Messrs de Beaufobre and Lenfant, whose pens would have done honour to the ages of Augustus and Lewis XIV.

Otho of Guericke flourished also at Magdeburg: it is to him we are indebted for the invention of the air-pump; and luckily he has rendered his philosophical and fruitful genius hereditary to his descendants.

The universities were in a flourishing condition at the same time: Halle and Franckfort were provided with learned professors. Thomafius, Gundling, Ludwig, Wolff and Strick, were in the first rank of fame, and had a vast number of pupils. Wolff wrote a comment on Leibnitz's ingenious system of the Monades, and drowned a few problems which Leibnitz had thrown out as a bait to the metaphysicians in a deluge of words, arguments, corollaries and citations. The professor of Halle took an immense deal of pains to write a large number of volumes, which instead of being adapted to the instruction of adult people, served only as a dialectic catechism for children. The Monades set the metaphysicians and geometricians of Germany at variance, and they still go on disputing on the divisibility of matter.

The king founded at the same time an academy at Berlin for young men of family, on the same plan as that of Luneville; but, unhappily for our country, it did not last long.

This century produced not one good historian. Tessier was employed to write the history of Brandenburg, and instead of a history he wrote a panegyric. Puffendorff wrote the life of Frederick-William; and being determined to omit no circumstance at all, he forgot neither his clerks of the chancery nor his va-
lets

lets de chambre. But our authors, I think, are generally found fault with for making no distinction between things that are essential, and such as are only circumstantial; for leaving facts in obscurity, while they pretend to disembroil them; and for not shortening their trailing prose, which is excessively subject to transpositions and numerous epithets.

In this great scarcity of prose writers, Brandenburg had one good poet. This was Monf. de Canitz, who made an excellent translation of some of Boileau's epistles, and published verses in imitation of Horace, with some original pieces. Canitz is the Pope of Germany, the most elegant, the most correct, and the least diffused poet that ever wrote in our language. In Germany even the poets are generally infected with pedantry; the language of the gods is prostituted by the mouth of some regent of a paltry college, or by a debauched student; and those whom we call gentlemen, are either too lazy, or too proud, to touch Horace's lyre, or Virgil's trumpet. M. de Canitz, though of a very good family, did not think that wit and poetical merit were any derogation to his birth. He cultivated this talent, as we have already observed, with great success. He had an employment at court; and, from conversing with good company, he learned that politeness and amenity, which are so pleasing in his style.

The German theatre was worth little notice; what they call tragedy is a monstrous mixture of bombast and buffoonry. The dramatic writers were unacquainted even with the common rules of the theatre; and their comedy was still more wretched. It was a kind of low farce, contrary to all taste, politeness
and

and morality. The queen maintained an Italian opera, the composer of which was the famous Bononcini: from that time we have had good musicians. There was a company of French players at court, by whom the admirable compositions of the Molières, the Corneilles, and the Racines, were frequently represented. The taste of the French theatre made its way into Germany, together with the fashions of that nation. Europe being struck with the character of grandeur which Lewis XIV. displayed in all his actions, with the politeness which reigned in his court, and with the great men who were an ornament to his reign, wanted to imitate France, as well as to admire her. People from all parts of Germany visited this country; and a young gentleman was taken for a fool, if he had not been some time at the court of Versailles. The French taste regulated our kitchens, our furniture, our dress, and every other kind of trifle which is subject to the tyrannical sway of fashion. This passion, carried to excess, degenerated into phrenzy; the women, who often run upon extremes, pushed it to a degree of extravagance*.

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* The mother of Canitz the poet, having exhausted all the new fashions of France, in order to outdo the ladies of Berlin, commissioned a merchant to bring her a husband from France, who should be young, handsome, robust, polite, witty, and of a good family, imagining that this kind of merchandice was as common as womens dressing toys in a shop. The merchant, who was quite unpractised in this kind of trade, executed his commission as well as he could. At length his correspondents found out a person whom they thought fit for his purpose; this was a man of fifty years of age, his name was M. de Brinboc, of a weak constitution, and very sickly. He came to Berlin; madam de Canitz saw him, was startled, and married him. It was lucky for the Prussians, that this marriage turned out to the dissatisfaction of the lady, otherwise her
example

The court did not give into the foreign modes so much as the town; their time was taken up with the decorations of magnificence and ceremony, which were carried to the greatest excess. The king instituted the order of the black eagle, as well to have such a thing as an order, like every other king, as to give himself, upon this occasion, the pleasure of a festival, which greatly resembled a masquerade. This prince, who had erected an academy out of compli-
 fance to his wife, maintained buffoons to please himself. The court of the queen, Sophia-Charlotte, was quite separate from his. It was a temple, in which the sacred fire of the vestals was preserved; it was the asylum of learning, and the seat of politeness. This virtuous princess was so much the more regretted, as the * lady who succeeded her, gave herself up intirely to the direction of bigots, and spent her days with hypocrites; a wretched race, who even bring virtue into disrepute, by sanctifying vice under a virtuous appearance. At length the adepts appeared at court; and an Italian, whose name was Cata-
 neo, assured the king, that he had the secret of making gold. This fellow spent a great deal of this metal, but made none; and the king was revenged for his credulity upon the wretch; for he ordered him to be hanged.

The state underwent almost an intire change, as to its outward form, under Frederick-William, in 1713. Numbers of courtiers were dismissed, and

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example would have been followed. Our beauties would all have fallen into the hands of Frenchmen, and those of our sex at Berlin would have been obliged, like the Romans, to carry off the Sabine women from the neighbourhood.

* The princess of Mecklenburg, who afterwards fell mad,

the great pensions were reduced. Many, who had kept their coaches, now walked on foot, which made people say, That the king had restored the lame to the use of their limbs. Under Frederick I. Berlin was the Athens of the north; under Frederick-William, it was become the Sparta. It was now a military government; the army was increased; and, in the heat of the first levies, some artizans were pressed into the service, which struck such a terror into a great many others, that they saved themselves by flight. This unforeseen accident did a vast deal of harm to our manufactures.

The king soon remedied these abuses, and applied himself, with a particular attention, to the re-establishment and progress of industry. He published a severe edict, prohibiting the exportation of our wool; and he built the Lagerhaus in 1714, which is a kind of warehouse, from whence wool is delivered out to poor manufacturers, which they pay for after they have woven it. Our cloths found a sure sale from the consumption made by the army, which was new clothed every year. This consumption extended afterwards to foreigners; for a Russian company was established in 1725, and our merchants furnished cloth for the whole Russian army. But the English sent their guineas into Muscovy, which were soon followed by their cloth; so that there was an end of that trade. Our manufactures, indeed, suffered by this in the beginning, but we soon found other markets. The manufacturers had not wool enough of their own, and the people of Mecklenburg were permitted to sell us theirs. Thus, as early as 1733, our manufactures were in so flourishing a condition, that

that we exported 44,000 pieces of cloth, of 24 yards each.

Berlin was like the magazine of Mars. Every artist, that can be employed in the service of an army, was sure to thrive, and their ware was sought for all over Germany. At Berlin we set up powder-mills, at Spandaw sword-cutlers, at Potzdam gunsmiths, and at Neustadt tradesmen, who worked in iron and copper.

The king granted privileges and rewards to those who would undertake to build in any part of his dominions. He added the ward of Frederick-stadt to his capital, and filled that part with houses, which had been covered before with the old ramparts. He founded, as it were, and peopled †, the town of Potzdam; and, all this while, he did not erect the least building for himself, but every thing for his subjects. The architecture of his reign is generally infected with the Dutch taste; and we could have wished, that the great sums which this prince laid out in buildings, had been directed by abler architects. He had the fate of all founders of cities, who are generally taken up with the solidity of their designs, and neglect what, with the same expence, might add to their embellishment.

After Bérin was enlarged, it was subjected to a new civil regulation in 1734, upon the same footing, very near, as that of Paris. Officers of the police were established almost in every ward of the town; hackney coaches were set up at the same time; the city was disincumbered of those lazy wretches, who

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† At that time there were hardly four hundred inhabitants in the town, whereas, at present, there are upwards of twenty thousand.

get their bread by importunity ; and those unhappy objects of our dislike and compassion, to whom nature has been a kind of a step-mother, found an asylum in the public hospitals.

While all these changes were making, luxury, magnificence, and pleasures disappeared ; the spirit of œconomy was introduced among people of all conditions, the rich as well as the poor. Under the preceding reigns, a great many of the nobility sold their lands to buy laced clothes ; but now this abuse was put an end to. In most of the Prussian dominions, the gentlemen ought to be very good œconomists, to be able to maintain their families, because there is no such thing among them as the right of primogeniture. And as the fathers of families may have many children to settle in the world, œconomy alone can enable them to make a decent provision for those, who, after their decease, will divide their family into different branches.

This diminution of public expence did not hinder a great many artisans from perfecting themselves in their several trades. Our coaches, gold laces, velvets, and goldsmiths ware, were spread all over Germany.

But the mischief was, that while such useful and excellent regulations were making in the manufactures, there was a total decline in the academy of sciences, the universities, the liberal arts, and commerce.

The places that became vacant in the academy, were filled without any manner of judgment. And the public, through a singular depravation of taste, affected a contempt for a society of so illustrious an original, whose labours tended as much to the honour

nour of the nation, as to the improvement of the human understanding. While this whole body was fallen into a lethargy, medicine and chymistry maintained their ground. Pott, Margraff, and Eller, compounded and dissolved matter, improving the world with their discoveries; and the anatomists obtained a hall for their public dissections, which became an excellent school of chirurgery.

The professorships in the universities were filled by favour and intrigue. The bigots, who put their noses every where, obtained a share in the direction of the universities, where they raised a persecution against good sense, especially in philosophy. Wolfius was banished for giving an admirable chain of the proofs of the existence of a God. The young nobility, who were designed for the army, thought it a debasement to apply themselves to study; and as the human mind generally runs into extremes, they looked upon ignorance as a title of merit, and learning as ridiculous pedantry.

The same cause made the liberal arts decline. The academy of painting was now no more. Pesne, who had been the director of it, left off history-painting to apply himself to portraits; joiners turned sculptors, and masons architects. A chymist, whose name was Bottcher, went from Berlin to Dresden, and gave the king of Poland the secret for a kind of porcellane, which surpasses that of China, both for the elegance of the figures, and the fineness of the diapering.

Our commerce was not yet set on foot; the government checked it, by following principles directly opposite to its progress. But we must not conclude, from thence, that the nation wanted a genius

for trade. The Venetians and the Genoese were the first who applied themselves to it; the discovery of the compass transferred it to the Portuguese and Spaniards; it shifted afterwards to England and Holland; the French followed it the last, but soon recovered by their diligence what they had neglected through ignorance. If the inhabitants of Dantzick, Hamburg, and Lubeck, as well as the Danes, and the Swedes, enrich themselves every day by navigation, why should not the Prussians do the same? All men become quick-sighted when the road to fortune is opened to them; but they must be animated by example, excited by emulation, and encouraged by the sovereign. The French have been slow, and we are so at present; perhaps our hour is not yet come.

People were less attentive at that time to the increase of commerce, than to the reduction of useless expences. Mournings had been formerly destructive to families. They used to give entertainments at burials, and even the funeral pomp was expensive. All those customs were abolished: neither houses nor chariots were hung with black, nor did they even so much as give black liveries; so that ever since that time people have died cheap.

This military government influenced the manners of the inhabitants, and even regulated their fashions. The public affected to assume a sours air; through all the Prussian territories no one had above three yards of cloth in his coat, or less than two yards of a sword hanging by his side. The women shunned the company of men, and the men took their revenge of them by drinking, smoking, and buffoonry. In short, our manners had no longer any resemblance
either

either to those of our ancestors or of our neighbours : we were originals, and had the honour of being wretchedly copied by some of the petty princes of Germany.

Towards the latter end of this reign, there happened to come to Berlin *, a man of an unlucky turn of mind, of obscure birth, but extremely cunning. He was a kind of an adept, that made gold for the sovereign at the expence of his subjects. His artifices succeeded for a while ; but as knavery is generally discovered one time or other, his legerdemain was found out, and his wretched science returned into the obscurity from whence it came.

Such were the manners of Brandenburg under all its different governments. The genius of the nation lay concealed during a long series of barbarous ages : it raised its head from time to time ; but soon sunk under the weight of ignorance and bad taste ; and when some lucky circumstances seemed to favour its progress, a war broke out, whose unhappy consequences destroyed the state. We have seen this state rise out of its ashes ; we have seen by what new efforts the nation was civilized ; and if this great fire has thrown out only a few sparkles, a small matter is wanting to make it blaze. As seeds require a particular soil to spread and unfold themselves ; in like manner, nations have need of a concurrence of lucky circumstances to raise them out of their lethargy, and to give them, as it were, a new life.

All governments have had a particular series of events to run through, before they have been able to arrive at their highest degree of perfection. Monarchies arrive at it by slower degrees than republics,
nor

* Eckert.

nor do they preserve it so long; and if it be true that the most perfect form of government is that of a kingdom well administered, it is no less true, that republics attain sooner to the end proposed by their institution, and preserve themselves in it longer, because good kings are subject to death, but wise laws are immortal.

Sparta and Rome, cities designed for military achievements, produced, one the invincible phalanx, and the other those legions which subdued half the known world. Sparta gave birth to the most famous generals, and Rome became a nursery of heroes. Athens, having had more pacific laws from Solon, was the seminary of arts. To what a degree of perfection did not her poets, orators, and historians arrive? This asylum of the sciences was preserved till the entire ruin of Attica. The foundation of the republics of Carthage, Venice, and Holland, was connected with commerce; this they constantly pursued and maintained, as the principle of their grandeur, and the support of their state.

Let us continue this enquiry a little longer. To touch the fundamental laws of the republic, is entirely subverting them, because the wisdom of the legislators has formed a whole, with which the different parts of the government are essentially connected. To reject some, is destroying the rest, by a concatenation of consequences which unites them together, and forms a regular and compleat system.

In monarchies, the form of government has no other basis than the absolute will of a sovereign: the laws, the army, trade, industry, and every other part of the state, are subject to the caprice of a single man, whose successors hardly ever resemble each other. Hence it generally follows, that at the accession

sion of a new prince, the state is governed by new principles ; and this is what hurts this form of government. There is a proportion between the end proposed by republics, and the means they use to attain it, which is the reason that they hardly ever miss it. In monarchies, a lazy prince succeeds an ambitious one ; after him comes a bigot ; after him a warrior ; after him a scholar ; after him an epicure or a debauchee : and while this moveable stage of fortune exhibits incessantly new scenes, the genius of the nation, diverted by a variety of objects, has not time to fix itself. It is necessary, therefore, in monarchies, that those institutions which are to bid defiance to the vicissitude of time, should be so deeply rooted as to be incapable of being destroyed, without shaking, at the same time, the foundation of the throne.

But frailty and instability are inseparably connected with the works of man. The revolutions of monarchies and republics have their origin in the immutable laws of nature. It is necessary that the human passions should serve as springs for the continual shifting of new decorations, which the audacious fury of some carries off, and the weakness of others is incapable of defending ; that unbridled ambition should subvert republics, and that artifice should triumph sometimes over simplicity. Were it not for those great shocks we are speaking of, the universe would continue always the same, and there would be no equality in the fate of nations. Some would be always civilized and happy, and others always barbarous and unfortunate.

We have seen monarchies rise and fall, and people once rude and unpolished, become civilized, and a model to other nations. May we not conclude, that

that these nations have a revolution similar to that of the planets, which, in the opinion of some astronomers, after having, in ten thousand years, run thro' the whole space of the heavens, find themselves, at length, at the very place from whence they set out?

Our bright days will therefore come, like those of other nations; and our expectations are so much the better grounded, as we have paid tribute to barbarism some ages longer than the people of the south.

These precious ages are easily known by the number of great men in every branch, who flourish all at the same time. Happy those princes who come into the world under such favourable conjunctures! Virtues, abilities, and genius impel them, by the same law of motion, to the noblest undertakings.

D I S S E R T A T I O N II.

Of the antient and modern government of the country of Brandenburg.

BEFORE the country of Brandenburg was converted to Christianity, it was governed by Druids, as was formerly all Germany. Under the Vandals, the Teutons, and the Suevi, their princes were generals appointed by the nation, and were called Fursten, which signifies commanders or leaders. The emperors, who subdued those barbarians, established governors over the frontiers, who were named Margraves, to curb this warlike nation, extremely jealous of her liberty. There are so few records remaining of these distant ages, that, to avoid mixing

mixing fables with history, we shall confine ourselves to the government of the electorate, under the princes of the house of Hohenzollern.

In the year 1412; when the Burgraves of Norimberg were first established in the Marck, the nobility, who were become resty and intractable under the late regencies, refused to yield them homage. As they were supported in their independence by the dukes of Pomerania, they grew formidable to their sovereign: the great families were powerful; they armed their subjects, and waged war with each other, robbing travellers even on the highways. Their places of retreat were strong castles, surrounded with deep ditches. Thus, these petty tyrants having divided the authority amongst them, ravaged the open country with impunity; and as there was no government that could enforce the execution of its laws, an universal disorder prevailed, and the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost misery. The great families that arose in this state of anarchy, were those of Kittow, Putlitz, Bredow, Holtzendorff, Uchtenhagen, Torgow, Arnim, Rochow, and the lords of Hohenstein: it is with these that the elector Frederick I. had to deal.

Notwithstanding they were subdued by this prince, yet they continued still masters of the government: they granted the supplies, regulated the imposts, fixed the number of troops, which were never raised but in case of necessity, and were paid by them; they were consulted also upon the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the country; and it was by their advice that the laws were administered.

History furnishes us with more than one instance of the power of the states. The elector Albert the Achilles owed a hundred thousand florins †, and, to

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† In 1472.

get clear of the debt, he desired the states to charge themselves with the payment of the money. They consented, and laid an excise on beer, which they granted only for seven years: they raised it afterwards, and from thence comes what is called the *Landschafft*, or the public bank.

Under the elector Joachim I. *, the states laid a duty on mills, farms, and sheep-folds, in order to keep two hundred horse in pay, whom this prince sent to assist the emperor against the infidels.

In the elector Joachim II.'s time, the credit of the states was so great, that they redeemed some bailiwicks, upon which that prince had borrowed money, on condition that neither he nor his successors should ever after mortgage or sell them. He consulted them upon all occasions, and promised not to undertake any thing without their consent. They even entered into a correspondence with Charles V. and gave him to understand, that they did not approve the elector should go to the diet; and accordingly he did not undertake the journey.

John Sigismund, and George William ¶, consulted the states in regard to the succession of Juliers and Berg. They nominated four deputies, who followed the court, as well to assist as council, as to be employed in negotiations, and for such other purposes as circumstances might point out, in the service of those princes.

George William consulted the states for the last time †, to know whether they approved that he should enter into an alliance with the Swedes, by putting them in possession of his strong holds; or whether he should side with the emperor. From that time Schwartzenberg got such a powerful ascendent over
this

* In 1530.

¶ In 1628.

† In 1631.

this weak prince, that he absorbed the whole authority of the sovereign and of the states, and levied taxes by his own authority. Thus the states had no more left them of that power which they had never abused, than the merit of a blind submission to the orders of the court.

The electors had no other council than the states till the reign of Joachim Frederick. This prince established a council, composed of a minister, for the administration of justice, another for the management of the revenue, another for the affairs of the empire, and another who was marshal of the court; over all which presided a stadtholder. From this council all decisions were issued out in the last resort, all orders civil and military, all regulations concerning the police; and it was they that drew up instructions for the ministers employed in foreign courts.

When the elector happened to be obliged, either by a journey or by war, to leave his dominions, this council exercised the functions of the sovereignty: they gave audience to foreign ministers; and had the same power, in short, as that which a regency is possessed of, during the minority of a prince.

The power of the prime minister, and of the council was almost boundless; count Schwartzenberg, in particular, had increased his authority under George William to such a degree, that it seemed equal to that of the mayors of the palace under the French kings of the first race. But the enormous abuse he made of it, gave the elector Frederick William a dislike to all prime ministers. We find, by the regulations made by this prince *, that each of the great officers had his different department, and that

* In 1651.

that in every province there were two counsellors to regulate the affairs belonging to that district.

Frederick William, in the beginning of his reign, resided at Königsberg in Prussia: he took care to provide the council whom he left at Berlin, with ample instructions relating to the circumstances of that time. The troops received their orders from the oldest generals who happened to be in the province; and the governors of fortified towns received them directly from himself.

Upon the death of the chancellor Gortz, this dignity was suppressed, and baron Schwerin was made first president of the council. The departments were divided, so that whatever related to the administration of the laws, was carried to the council of justice, who had a president at their head: the jurisdiction of the officers of the court depended on the governor of the castle: the revenue was administered by the chamber of the Domains, which was subdivided into several offices, of which baron Meinders, and after him the sieur de Jena, had the general direction.

The ecclesiastical affairs were directed by a consistory, composed partly of priests, and partly of laymen: besides the above-mentioned colleges, the chancery of the fiefs determined all feudal affairs.

Things continued almost in this footing during the reign of Frederick I. †, with this difference, that he let himself be governed intirely by his ministers. Danckelman, who had been his preceptor, became master of the state: upon the disgrace of that minister, count Wartenberg had the very same influence over his sovereign; and Kamke would, in the like manner,

† After 1688.

ner, have succeeded the great chamberlain, if the king's death had not put an end to his growing power.

Frederick William II. *, changed the whole form of the state and government : he limited the power of the ministers ; and they, who had been masters of his father, became his servants.

The direction of foreign affairs was committed to the sieurs d'Ilgen and Kniphausen ; these ministers conferred with the envoys, and held a correspondence with the Prussian ministers in the different courts of Europe ; but they were particularly entrusted with the affairs relating to the empire, to the boundaries of the state, and the rights and privileges of the electoral family. The sieur Cocceius, minister of state, had the general direction of the administration of justice, and acted as chancellor : under him the sieur d'Arnim had the department of appeals, and of the civil justice of Prussia and Ravensberg ; and the sieur de Katsch was placed at the head of the criminal jurisdiction.

The sieur de Printz, great marshal of the court, was made president of the superior consistory, and entrusted with the inspection of the universities, charitable foundations, canonries, and the affairs of the Jews.

The revenue was the part of the government which had been most neglected ; for which reason the king made several regulations, and established the great directory in 1724. This college is divided into four departments, and at the head of each is a minister of state. Prussia, Pomerania, and the New Marck, with the post-office, constituted the first department, which was given to the sieur de Grumkow : the electorate of Brandenburg, the dutchy of
Magdeburg,

* After 1713.

Magdeburg, the county of Rupin, and the place of secretary at war, formed the second department, which was given to the sieur de Kraut: the territories on the Rhine and the Weser, with the salt-pits, made the third division, which was given to the sieur de Gorne; and the fourth had the direction of the principality of Halberstadt, the county of Mansfeldt, the manufactures, the stamp-office, and the mint; this fell to the sieur de Vireck.

The king united the secretaryship at war with the commission of the revenues. Formerly these colleges employed forty advocates, for the prosecution of the several suits that arose in those courts, at the same time that they neglected the business for which they were designed; but after their re-union, they employed their time intirely in the service of the state.

Under these principal departments, the king established, in each province, a court of justice, and another of the exchequer, subordinate to the ministers. The ministers for foreign affairs, as well as those appointed for the administration of justice and of the revenue, made their reports every day to the king, who pronounced final judgment on the several matters laid before him. During his whole reign there was not the least decree which was not signed with his own hand, nor the least instruction of which he himself was not the author.

He declared all the fiefs allodial, on condition of a certain yearly rent, which the proprietors paid to the state. He laid out four millions five hundred thousand crowns in the re-establishment of Lithuania; six millions in rebuilding several towns in his own dominions, in improving the city of Berlin, and
founding

founding the town of Potzdam ; besides purchasing lands to the value of five millions, which he incorporated with his own domains.

In a word, it was Frederick William that gave an advantageous form to the state, and settled the government upon the principles of prudence and wisdom.

D I S S E R T A T I O N III.

Of superstition and religion.

I Divide this piece, concerning superstition and religion, into three parts ; and, for the sake of perspicuity and order, I shall represent religion under paganism, popery, and the reformation.

ARTICLE I. *Of religion under Paganism.*

Brandenburg followed the worship of the different people who inhabited this country. The Teutons, its most antient inhabitants, adored a god called Tuisto. Cæsar says, that this is the *Dis pater* ingendered by the earth, and that he had a son called *man*.

The worship paid by the Germans to their gods, was proportioned to their savage rudeness and simplicity. They assembled in the sacred woods, sung hymns in honour of their idols, and sacrificed even human victims to them.

Every province had its particular god ; the Vandals had one called Triglass. There was one also found at Harlungerberg, in the neighbourhood of Brandenburg, which had three heads,

to signify †, that he reigned in heaven, upon earth, and in hell; in all probability this was the pagan trinity. Tacitus relates, that the Germans had a certain number of white horses, which they believed to be initiated into the mysteries of their gods; and that they kept a black horse for the goddess Trigla, which passed for the interpreter of her will. These people paid worship also to serpents, and inflicted capital punishments on those who killed them*.

In the fifth century the Vandals abandoned their own country, and over-run France, Spain, and even Africa †. The Saxons, who were coming back from England, made a descent at the mouth of the Elbe, and took possession of all that country which lies between the Elbe, the Spree, and the Oder, which the natives had abandoned. Their gods and their religion became those of Brandenburg. The chief of their idols was called Irmanfaul, which signifies, the pillar of Irman. The learned etymologists of Germany have taken care to derive the word Irman from Hermes, which is the same as the Mercury of the Greeks.

Those who are versed in German literature, all know, that it is a general fancy among the learned of this nation, to find out relations between the deities of Germany, and those of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It is an unhappy, but certain truth, that error and superstition are the portion of humanity. All nations have had the same inclination to idolatry, and as they have all been actuated by very near the same passions, the effects have answered accordingly. Fear gave birth to credulity, and self-love soon made heaven concern itself in the fate of mankind. Hence arose all those different forms of
worship,

† Valentia Eichstadt.

* Alaus Arentzir.

‡ Orosius and Gregory of Tours.

worship, which, properly speaking, were no more than submissions modified in a hundred extravagant forms, to appease the wrath of heaven, whose resentment they dreaded. Human reason, altered and debased by the apprehension of an infinite variety of evils, knew not whom to fly to for shelter. And, as people who are sick try every kind of medicine, however silly and ridiculous, in hopes to find a cure at last; so mankind, in their blindness, supposed a divine essence, and a salutary virtue in the various objects of nature, from the highest to the lowest. Every thing was adored; incense was offered to mushrooms, altars were erected to crocodiles; temples were built, and priests appointed for the worship of statues made in honour of those great men who were the earliest governors of nations; and whenever a country laboured under any general affliction, the superstition was doubled. The learned of Germany have reason to say, in this sense, that superstition is the same in all countries: though it be, in general, a consequence of credulity, yet it shews itself under different forms, which are infinitely varied and proportioned to the genius of nations. I can hardly think, that the ingenious fables of the Greeks, that their deities, Minerva, Venus, and Apollo, were known in this country at the time of Paganism. But our profound etymologists are not puzzled with such a trifle; they think to ennoble their mythology, by giving Greek or Roman originals to their gods; as if the name of those people was capable of rendering idolatry more venerable, or the extravagance of the Greeks was preferable to that of the Germans.

Irmanfaul was not the only god of the Saxons.

The following inscription was found under one of their idols : *I was once duke of the Saxons, but now I am become a god.* Angelus maintains, that they worshipped the sun under the form of a radiant head, and that this idol gave its name to the town of Sonnenburg, where it was erected. The same author pretends, that they adored Venus, represented half naked, with the left nipple pierced by an arrow, and surrounded by three graces, of a smaller size than herself : those people called her Magda ; that is, maid ; and Angelus affirms, that she gave her name to Magdeburg, where she had her altars *. The ruins of her temple were still to be seen in this city, before it was sacked by Tilly. But what appears most remarkable in the worship paid by the Saxons to this deity, were the games which they celebrated in honour of her. These consisted of tournaments given by the young people of neighbouring villages. They deposited a sum of money in the hands of the judges, for a portion to a young woman, who was to be given in marriage to the person who won her at the tilting. The annals of Magdeburg make mention, that these games were still subsisting, as the reliques of paganism, in the years 1279, and 1387.

Luxury was introduced into religion upon the increase of riches. Formerly the people thought it improper to place their gods in temples built by human hands, for which reason they worshipped them in sacred groves ; but, in proportion as they grew civilized, their gods came to live in towns †. And yet

* Annals of Magdeburg.

† Linderbrock.

yet the antient custom was not intirely abolished ; for we find, that Charlemain forbad the Saxons to worship oaks, or to water them with the blood of victims.

The priests * of those days were more artful and cunning than the common people. Besides their priesthood, they had three other sorts of quacks-tricks ; they invented oracles, and they dabbled in astrology and physic. So much craft was more than sufficient to impose upon the ignorant vulgar. Hence it was very difficult to extirpate a religion supported by such a multitude of superstitions. All Germany was still attached to the worship of idols, when Charlemain, and after him Henry the Fowler, undertook to convert these people. After several useles efforts, they succeeded only by drowning idolatry in torrents of human blood.

ARTICLE II. *Conversion of the people to Christianity, and the state of the catholic religion in Brandenburg.*

It is a folly common to all nations, to illustrate the nobility of their laws, customs, and religion, by the antiquity of their original. The Germans, not content with stealing their gods from the Greeks, pretended also to have received Christianity as early as any other nation in Europe. They have found in St Jerome some passage or another, which says, as Staphonius and Smitius pretend, that the apostle Thomas came to preach the gospel in the north of Germany. If he preached any thing, it was

* Freinshemius and Schmidt.

incredulity ; for they continued pagans a long time after.

Let people say what they will, there is not the least vestige of Christianity to be found in Brandenburg before the time of Charlemain *. This emperor, after several victories obtained over the Saxons and Brandenburghers, came and pitched his camp at Wormerstedt †, in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, and granted peace to those provinces which he had subdued; upon condition that they would consent to Christianity.

The impossibility of withstanding so formidable an enemy, and the fear of menaces, induced these people to submit to baptism, which they received in the emperor's camp ; but, as soon as the danger was over, and the emperor was removed to some distance from the neighbourhood, together with his army, they all returned again to their old state of idolatry.

The emperor, Henry the Fowler, triumphed afterwards in 928, like Charlemain, over the inhabitants of the banks of the Elbe and the Oder ; and, after a vast deal of bloodshed, those people were subdued and converted. The Christians, out of their great zeal, demolished the pagan idols, insomuch, that there are scarce any remains of them now extant ; the empty niches of those idols were filled with saints of every kind, and new errors succeeded to those of antiquity.

That age which Leo X. made for ever memorable in Italy, by reviving the polite arts and sciences, which had been a long time buried in ignorance and depravation of taste ; that age, I say, was not so favourable

* In the eighth century.

† Henry Meibomius.

favourable to the nations on this side of the Alps. Germany was still in the darkest ignorance, and groaned under a barbarous kind of a government. There was neither morality nor learning; and human reason, deprived of the light of philosophy, was buried in its stupidity. The converters, and the new profelytes, being in the same situation in regard to those articles, had no reproach to make to each other.

* Towards the year 946, the emperor Otho founded the bishopric of Havelberg, and, not long after, that of † Brandenburg. He thought, very likely, to raise, by this means, a kind of dike against the inundation of idolatry, to which those people were prone; in the same manner as princes built citadels, in towns newly conquered, to check the insolence and mutinous disposition of the inhabitants.

Brandenburgh being, at length, converted to Christianity, fell into the very excess of false zeal: it made itself tributary, at the same time, to the pope, to the emperor, and to the margrave, its governor. The people soon repented their folly, and regretted those idols which were visible objects of worship, and less burdensome to them than the yearly tributes which they paid to the pope, whom they never saw. The love of liberty, the force of inveterate prejudices, and the prospect of their own interest, led them back to their false gods. Mistevojus, king of the Vandals, put himself at the head of the pagan party, and restored the antient worship, after driving the margrave Thierry out of Brandenburg. It was by force of arms that Christianity was re-established for the third time in this country. Then it was that

* Angelus. † 960.

the catholic religion appeared in full triumph, without any manner of constraint, and was followed by a long train of scandalous excesses. The bishops were ignorant, cruel, and ambitious; and, instead of preaching peace by their example, they delighted in war; for they bore arms in person against the margraves, and their other neighbours, plundering and ravaging the country, committing the greatest of violences, acting even the part of incendiaries, and arrogating to themselves (notwithstanding a life thus sullied with crimes) an absolute power over the consciences of the people.

So common were those disorders, that history abounds with examples of them; but I shall relate only two*. In 1278, Gunter, archbishop of Brandenburg, waged war against the elector Otho, surnamed Sagittarius, took him prisoner, and obliged him to pay the sum of 7000 silver marks for his ransom. In 1391, the archbishop Albert, who went always armed, seized on the person of the lord of Bredow, who was governor-general of the Marck, took the town of Rathenaw, and made incursions along the Havel, with a firebrand in one hand, and a sword in the other, spreading terror and desolation wherever he approached.

The gross ignorance into which those people were sunk in the 13th century, was a soil in which superstition must necessarily thrive. In fact, there was no want of miracles, nor of any other kind of tricks capable of establishing the authority of the priests.

Lockelius very gravely relates, that prince Otho having been excommunicated by Luitpold, archbishop of Brandenburg, on some frivolous account,
 he

* Lockelius.

he laughed at the ecclesiastic censures ; but that he was greatly surpris'd when he found that his dogs, though almost starv'd with hunger, would eat no victuals that came from his table ; which brought him to his right way of thinking. These dogs were, doubtless, very good catholics ; but unluckily the breed is lost.

At that time the miraculous images of the virgin Mary, and of the other saints, as well as their numerous reliques, had a very extraordinary virtue *. Among the rest the blood of Belitz was vastly in vogue. The story is this. A woman of that town, who kept a public house, stole a consecrated host, and buried it under a barrel in her cellar, hoping, by this means, to have better custom for her beer. But being touch'd with remorse (for publicans have a very tender conscience) she own'd her crime in public to the curate, who came in procession, with all his pontifical train, to dig up the host. In thrusting the shovel into the ground, they saw some blood gush out, and every body immediately cried out, A miracle. The imposture was too palpable ; for it was known, that this was some of the blood of an ox, which had been spilt there by the woman of the house. These miracles made a great impresson upon the minds of the people ; but this would not satisfy the clergy †. The court of Rome being ever more attentive to extend her dominion under the colour of religion, neglected no method that could be conducive to that end. In the 13th century most of the religious orders were founded. The pope established as many as he could of them in Germany, and particularly in the country of Brandenburg, under

* Annals of Brandenburg.

† In 1279.

der the pretence of fixing, by this means, the minds of the people in the profession of Christianity. The hypochondriac, the lazy, and all those who had incurred shame or disgrace in the world, retired into those sacred asylums, where they robbed the state of its subjects, by banishing themselves from society, and by renouncing the benediction which God gave to our first parents. Thus they became a burden to the public, living only upon alms, or making unlawful acquisitions. And though these institutions were contrary to the laws of society and good policy, yet the pope established them over all Europe : and thus, without opposition, he raised a powerful army of priests, at the expence of the several princes, and kept large garisons in countries over which he had no sovereignty. But in those days the people were brutish, the princes weak, and the priests rode in triumph.

When Christianity was well established, it produced fanatics of every kind *. The country of Brandenburg was afflicted with the plague in 1351, and this was sufficient to make superstition fly into its highest extravagance. To appease the divine wrath, some Jews were baptized by force, and others were burnt ; public processions were ordained ; vows were made to miraculous images ; and the imagination grown warm by so many foolish and whimsical inventions, produced the order of the flagellants. These were melancholy Christians, who scourged themselves with rods of wire in public processions. But the pope himself was shocked at these horrid macerations, and condemned the order, together with its abuses.

The

* Cramer, Baronius, Lockelius.

The public devotions took afterwards a milder turn. Pope John XXII. established offices of indulgencies in the country of Brandenburg; the Austin friars traded in this commodity, and sent the money they raised by it to Rome. Miracles were at length grown so common *, that, by the testimony of some authors, a shower of red and white crosses is said to have fallen upon the people that passed along the streets in the year 1500. Some of those crosses were found in loaves of bread, which was looked upon as the forerunner of a general calamity.

At this very time, when the priests imposed so grossly on the credulity of mankind; when they made use of religion only as a means to enrich themselves; when the clergy, in general, led the most scandalous lives, a simple friar undertook to reform so many abuses. By his example he restored mankind to the use of their reason, which they had been deprived of for so many ages; and the human understanding, encouraged by the recovery of its liberty, spread its inquiries on every side.

ARTICLE

* Lockelius, annals of Brandenburg.

ARTICLE III. *Of religion under the reformation.*

I shall not consider the reformation as a divine or a historian; the tenets of this religion, and the events which it gave rise to, are so well known, that there is no need to repeat them. So great, and so extraordinary a revolution, which changed almost the whole system of Europe, deserves to be examined in a philosophical light.

The catholic religion, which had been raised on the ruins of that of the Jews, and of the Pagans, had now subsisted during the space of fifteen centuries: she had been humble and mild under persecutions; but, grown fierce after her establishment, she was for persecuting in her turn. All Christendom was subject to the pope, who was reckoned infallible, by which means his power was more extended than that of the most absolute monarch. A pitiful friar undertook to oppose a power so well established, and, of a sudden, one half of Europe shook off the papal yoke.

As the several causes, which produced this great revolution, had subsisted long before it happened, they prepared the minds of the people for so important an event. The Christian religion was degenerated to such a degree, that the very characters of its institution were no longer discernible. Nothing could excel the original sanctity of its doctrine; but it was soon perverted by the natural bias of mankind to corruption. Thus the purest sources of
good

good became the cause of all manner of mischief. This religion, which preached humility, charity, and patience, was established by fire and sword. The priests, who ought to have been examples of poverty and sanctity, led the most scandalous lives: they acquired immense riches, which puffed them up with pride; and some of them were become powerful princes. The pope, who originally was subject to the emperors, assumed to himself the power of making and deposing them; he thundered out his excommunications, laid whole kingdoms under interdicts, and carried things to so enormous an excess, that the world was obliged to cry out for a reformation.

Religion changed, together with the manners of the people; every age it lost something of its natural simplicity; and, by too much paint, its features were no longer distinguishable. All that was super-added to it was the invention of men; and, like them, was doomed to perish. At the council of * Niece, the divinity † of the Son was declared equal to that of the Father; and, by joining the holy Ghost to those two persons, they made the Trinity. Priests were forbidden to marry, by the canons of the council of Toledo †; but they did not comply with this institution till the 13th century. Purgatory was invented in the 6th century; and the council of Trent made it an article of faith. The worship of images was established by the second council of Niece,

* In the year 321.

† Origen and St Justin were not of this opinion. The latter says, in his dialogue, p. 316. that the Son is not near so great as the Father.

† Held in the year 400.

Niece ¶, and transubstantiation by the council of Trent ** . The schoolmen maintained the infallibility of the pope, since the quarrel between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. Some melancholy men founded religious orders, and confined to idle speculation a life, which should be spent in action for the good of society. Convents were multiplied without number, and a great number of mankind were buried and sequestered from society. In fine, all manner of tricks were invented to impose upon the credulity of the vulgar; and forged miracles were become almost a common thing.

And yet religion was not to expect a reformation by changes arising from speculative considerations. Among those who think, the generality turn all their sagacity and penetration on the side of interest and ambition; there are very few that combine abstract ideas, and much less who reflect deeply on those important matters; and the common people, the most respectable, most numerous, and most unfortunate part of society, follow the impressions which they receive from their leaders.

This was not the case in respect to the tyrannical power which the clergy exercised over the consciences of the people; the priests stripped them of their liberty and property.

This slavery, which every day grew heavier, had already occasioned great complaints. The most dull, as well as the most ingenious, if they have but sensibility, feel an injury done them. All aim alike at their own welfare, and if they suffer for a while, their patience will be tired out at last. Thus the oppression,

¶ Held in 781.

** 1645.

oppression, under which so many nations groaned, would have inevitably produced a reformation, even if the Roman clergy themselves, torn by intestine divisions, had not given the signal of liberty, by setting up the standard of revolt against the pope. The Vaudois, the Wicklefites, and the Hussites, had already attempted to stir; but Luther and Calvin, who had equal boldness with the former, and were born under more favourable conjunctures, gave, at length, the finishing stroke to this great work.

The Austin friars were in possession of the trade of indulgencies; but the pope gave the commission, this time, to the Dominicans, which occasioned a furious quarrel between the two orders. The Austin friars exclaimed against the pope; and Luther, who was of their order, attacked, with great vigour, the abuses of the church. He boldly tore off part of the veil of superstition, and became the head of a sect; and, as his doctrine stripped the bishops of their benefices, and the monasteries of their riches, princes followed this new reformer in crowds.

Religion then assumed a new form, and drew near to its antient simplicity. This is not a place to examine, whether it would not have been better to have left more pomp and external shew, as it has a greater effect upon the people, who are struck only by sensible objects. It seems that a worship, intirely spiritual, and so naked as that of the protestants, is not designed for dull heavy men, who are incapable of rising by thought to the admiration of the sublimest truths.

The reformation was of service to the world, and especially to the progress of the human understanding. The protestants being obliged to reflect upon
 matters

matters of faith, divested themselves suddenly of the prejudices of education, and found themselves at liberty to make use of their reason, that guide which is given to man to conduct him, and which he ought to follow, if ever, in the most important concerns of life. The catholics, finding themselves vigorously attacked, were obliged to defend themselves. The clergy began to study, and emerged from that shameful ignorance, in which they had been, almost, all buried.

If there was but one religion in the world, it would be proud and despotic; the priests would be so many tyrants, who, while they exercised their severity towards the people, would shew indulgence only to their own crimes. Faith, ambition, and policy would enslave the universe. Now, that there are a great many sects, none of them can deviate, without having reason to repent it, from the rules of moderation. The example of the reformation is a bridle which hinders the pope from giving loose to his ambition; and he has reason to apprehend the desertion of his members if he abuses his power. Thus he is very sparing of his excommunications, since, by a step of that kind, he lost Henry VIII. and the kingdom of England. The catholic and protestant clergy, who watch one another with an equal inclination to criticise, are both obliged to observe, at least, an external decorum. Thus there is an exact balance between them. Happy, if the spirit of party, fanaticism, and folly, never hurry them again into those barbarous wars, which should be eternally odious to all branches of Christianity! Considering religion merely in a political light, it seems that protestantism is better adapted both for republics

republics and monarchies. It agrees better with that spirit of liberty which is essential to the former. For in a government that stands in need of merchants, labourers, tradesmen, soldiers, and, in short, of a great multitude of subjects for its support, it is certain, that people who make a vow against the propagation of the human species, are pernicious to the state.

In monarchies, the protestant religion depends on no foreign power, but is intirely subject to the government; whereas, the catholic religion establishes a spiritual jurisdiction, unlimited in its power, and fruitful in plots and artifices in the prince's temporal dominions. The priests, who have the direction of consciences, and have no other superior but the pope, have a greater command over the people than the sovereign that governs them; and, by a peculiar artifice of confounding the interests of religion with human ambition, the popes have often been at variance with princes on subjects that are no way subject to the jurisdiction of the church.

In the country of Brandenburg, and most of the provinces of Germany, the people were all impatient under the yoke of the Roman clergy. This was too costly a religion for so poor a country. Purgatory, masses for the living and the dead, jubilees, first fruits, indulgencies, venial and mortal sins, the changing of penances into pecuniary fines, matrimonial causes, vows and offerings, were so many imposts which the pope laid on credulity, and brought him in as sure a revenue as Mexico does to Spain. Those who paid them were exhausted and dissatisfied. There was no necessity of using many arguments to dispose those people to receive the

reformation: they complained of the tyranny of the clergy; a man started up who promised to deliver them from the oppression, and they all followed him.

Joachim II. was the first elector who embraced the Lutheran religion, which he learned of his mother, who was a princess of Denmark. For the new doctrine had made its way into Denmark before it was received in Brandenburg. His subjects soon followed his example, and all Brandenburg turned Protestant. Matthew Jagow, bishop of Brandenburg, administered the sacrament in both kinds in the convent of Black-friars. This convent became afterwards the cathedral of Berlin. Joachim II. distinguished himself among the party, not only by the controversial letters which he wrote to the king of Poland, but moreover, by the eloquent speeches which he is said to have * made at the diet of Augsburg in favour of the Protestants.

The reformation could not abolish all the errors of the antient religion; though it had opened the eyes of the people with regard to an infinite number of superstitions, yet it retained a great many others; so inconceivable is the propensity of the human mind to error. Luther did not believe in purgatory, yet he admitted apparitions and devils into his system: he even maintained, that Satan had appeared to him at Wittemburg, and that he had exorcised him, by flinging an inkhorn at his head. There was scarce any nation, at that time, but was full of those prejudices. The court, and much more so the people, were prepossessed with a notion of sorcery, conjuring, apparitions, and devils. In 1533, two old women
passed

* Lockelius's annals of Brandenburg:

passed through the ordeal of fire, to clear themselves of the charge of witchcraft. The court had its astrologer: one of them foretold, at the birth of John Sigismund, that he would be a fortunate prince, because, at that time, a new star was discovered in the constellation of Cassiopeia. But the astrologer did not foretel, that John Sigismund would turn Calvinist to please the Dutch, whose assistance was of great service to him in asserting his rights to the duchy of Cleves.

After Luther's schism had divided the church, the popes and emperors used every kind of endeavour to bring about a re union. The divines of both professions held conferences, one while at Thorn, another time at Augsburg. Religious subjects were debated in all the diets of the empire, and yet every attempt proved fruitless. At length a bloody and cruel war broke out, which was extinguished and renewed at different intervals. It was often kindled by the ambition of the emperors, who wanted to oppress the liberty of the princes, and the consciences of the people. But the jealousy of France, and the ambition of Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, preserved Germany and religion from the despotic power of the house of Austria.

During all those troubles, the electors of Brandenburg behaved with the greatest prudence. They were directed by the principles of lenity and moderation. Frederick-William having acquired catholic subjects by the treaty of Westphalia, did not persecute them; he even gave leave to some Jewish families to settle in his dominions, and permitted them to build synagogues.

Frederick I. sometimes shut the catholic churches,

by way of reprisal for the persecutions which the Protestants suffered under the elector Palatine; but the catholics were always re-instated in the free exercise of their religion. The Calvinists attempted to persecute the Lutherans in the country of Brandenburg. The king being inclined to favour the Calvinists, embraced this opportunity to establish priests of that sect in villages which had been always directed by Lutherans. This plainly shews, that religion does not destroy the passions of mankind, and that priests, of whatever religion, are always ready to oppress their adversaries, when they have power on their side.

It is a shame to the human understanding, that at the beginning of so learned an age as the XVIIIth, all manner of superstitions were yet subsisting. Men of sense, as well as the vulgar, believed still in apparitions. There was a kind of popular tradition, that a ghost dressed in white appeared constantly at Berlin, whenever a prince of the family was near his end. The late king ordered a fellow to be taken up and punished, who had pretended to have seen an apparition; the ghosts, offended at so bad a reception, appeared no more, and the public was disabused.

In 1708, a woman, who had the misfortune of being old, was burnt as a witch. These barbarous consequences of ignorance made a great impression upon Thomafius, the learned professor of Halle; he exposed the weakness and ridicule of the proofs of witchcraft; he maintained public theses on the natural causes of things, and declaimed so loudly against trials of this kind, that the judges were ashamed to continue them any longer; and, since his time, the sex has been suffered to grow old, and die in peace.

Of all the learned men that have adorned Germany,

ny, Leibnitz and Thomafius did the greateft service to the human understanding, by pointing out the right road which reason ought to purfue to come at the truth. They oppofed prejudices of every kind, and, in all their writings, appealed to analogy and experience, the two crutches by the help of which we drawl on in the road of argumentation ; and they had a great number of difciples.

The Calvinifts became more pacific under the reign of Frederick-William, and religious quarrels ceafed. The Lutherans improved this tranquillity to their advantage. Francke, a minifter of their feft, eftablifhed, by his own induftry, a college at Halle. This was a nurfery for young divines, from whence a fwarm of priefts iffued forth, who formed a feft of rigid Lutherans, and who wanted nothing but an Abbe Paris's grave, and an Abbe Becherand, to play gambols upon. Thefe are Proteftant Janfenifts, who are diftinguifhed from the reft by their myftical feverities. After them appeared all forts of Quakers, Zinzindorfians, Hychilians, and other fefts, one more ridiculous and extravagant than the other, who, by carrying * the principles of the primitive church too far, fell into fome criminal abufes.

All thefe fefts live here in peace, and contribute alike to the profperity of the ftate ; for there is never a religion that differs greatly from the reft, in refpect to morality. Hence they may be all alike to the government, which, of courfe, leaves every man at liberty to go to heaven which way he pleafes. All that is required of them is to be peaceful and good fubjects.

* The community of goods, and equality of conditions. It is even faid that this community of goods is extended to women in their afsemblies.

Falſe zeal is a tyrant that depopulates provinces ; toleration is a tender mother that makes them flouriſh.

DISSERTATION IV.

On the reaſons for the enacting and repealing of laws.

WHOSOEVER is deſirous of acquiring a complete knowledge of the manner in which laws ought to be enacted or repealed, can attain it only by the ſtudy of hiſtory. There we find, that every nation has had its particular laws ; that theſe laws were eſtabliſhed by degrees ; and that it was ſome time before mankind could eſtabliſh any thing upon a reaſonable footing. There we find alſo, that thoſe legiſlators, whoſe laws have ſubſiſted longeſt, were ſuch as aimed only at the public good, and were beſt acquainted with the temper and diſpoſition of the people whoſe government they ſettled.

It is theſe conſiderations that have induced us to enter into a particular inquiry concerning the hiſtory of laws, and the manner in which they were eſtabliſhed in moſt civilized countries.

It ſeems probable that the fathers of families were the firſt legiſlators. The neceſſity of eſtabliſhing order in their own houſes, obliged them, without doubt, to make domeſtic laws. After thoſe early ages, and when men began to unite in communities,

the

the laws of those particular jurisdictions were found insufficient for a more numerous society.

The human heart, which seems to lose its malice in solitude, exerts every branch of it upon the great stage of the world. And if the mutual intercourse of mankind, by sorting the most homogeneous characters, furnishes the virtuous with good company, it supplies accomplices also to the wicked.

When disorders began to increase in towns, and new vices were seen to rise, fathers of families, as most interested, agreed, for their own security, to endeavour to stem the torrent. Laws were therefore published, and magistrates appointed to enforce them. Such is the depravity of mankind, that, to live happy, and in peace, there is a necessity for having recourse to the powerful constraint of laws !

The first laws provided only against great inconveniencies : the civil laws regulated the worship of the gods, the division of lands, marriage contracts, and inheritances ; criminal laws exerted their rigour only in regard to crimes whose effects were most apprehended : and in proportion, afterwards, as unexpected inconveniencies arose, new disorders gave birth to new laws.

From the union of towns, republics took their rise ; and, from the bias of all human things to vicissitude, the form of their government often changed. The people, tired of a democracy, made a transition to aristocracy, in the room of which they substituted, afterwards, a monarchical government. This was brought about two ways ; for either the people placed their confidence in the eminent virtue of one of their fellow citizens, or some ambitious person, by artifice, usurped the sovereign power.

There are few countries but have experienced these different governments ; and yet all of them have had different laws.

Osiris is the first legislator mentioned in profane history* ; he was king of Egypt, and established laws for that country. These laws, to which even sovereigns submitted, regulated the government of the kingdom, and directed, at the same time, the conduct of individuals.

The kings of those days acquired the love of the people, only inasmuch as they conformed to these laws. Osiris † appointed thirty judges, the chief of whom wore about his neck the image of truth, hanging by a gold chain : to be touched by this image was carrying the cause.

Osiris regulated the worship of the gods, the division of lands, and the distinction of ranks and conditions : he forbid the persons of debtors to be arrested ; and banished the seducing charms of rhetoric from public pleadings. The Egyptians pledged the dead bodies of their fathers, and left them with their creditors for security ; and it was the utmost infamy not to redeem them before their death. This legislator thought it was not sufficient to punish men while they were living ; for which reason, he established a tribunal to judge them after they were dead, to the end, that the infamy annexed to their condemnation might serve as a spur to excite the living to virtue.

Next to the laws of the Egyptians, those of the Cretans are the most antient. Their legislator, Minos, gave out that he was son of Jupiter, and that he

* Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

† Some authors add Isis also.

he had received these laws from his father, in order to render them more venerable.

Lycurgus, king of Sparta, made use of Minos's laws, to which he added some of those of Osiris, which he collected in his travels through Egypt. He banished gold, silver, and all sorts of coins and superfluous arts from his republic; and he made an equal division of lands among the citizens.

As the chief intent of this legislator was to form his people to war, he discouraged every kind of passion that might enervate their courage. With this view, he permitted the promiscuous use of women among the citizens, by which means the state was peopled, and an attachment to the soft endearments of marriage was prevented. The children were all brought up at the public expence; and when a father could prove that his new born infant was not found, he was allowed to kill him. Lycurgus thought that a man, who was unable to bear arms, was not fit to live.

He made a regulation that the Helotes, who were a kind of slaves, should manure the lands; and that the Spartans should be employed only in military exercises.

Girls were admitted, as well as boys, to wrestle in public, on which occasion they both performed naked.

They eat all together in public, and no difference was made of rank or condition.

Strangers were forbidden to make any stay in Sparta, lest their manners should corrupt those introduced by Lycurgus.

There was no punishment against thieves, unless they were detected in the fact. Lycurgus's aim was to form a military republic, and he succeeded.

Dracon † was the first who made laws for the Athenians; but these were so rigorous, that it was said they were written rather with blood than ink.

We have seen in what manner laws were established in Egypt, and at Sparta: let us now inquire how they were reformed at Athens.

The disorders which universally prevailed in Attica, and the unhappy consequences apprehended from thence, rendered it necessary to have recourse to some prudent person, who should be judged capable of reforming so many abuses. The poor, who were exposed to the most cruel oppression from the rich, because of their debts, thought of chusing to themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the tyranny of their creditors.

During these dissensions, Solon was named Archon, and supreme ruler, by the unanimous consent of the people. The rich, as Plutarch says, approved of him readily, as he was rich; and the poor, because he was honest.

Solon released the debtors, and gave the citizens a power of making testaments.

He allowed that such women as had the plea of impotency, against their husbands, might chuse themselves others from among their relations.

These laws inflicted punishments on idleness; they acquitted those who killed an adulterer; and prohibited the committing the wardship of children to their next relations.

If a man had but one eye, he who put out the other was sentenced to lose both his; and men of debauched

† Dracon punished even the smallest faults with death; he went so far as to prosecute inanimate things: thus a statue, for example, which had hurt a person, by falling upon him, was banished the city.

debauched morals were not suffered to speak in public assemblies.

Solon made no law against parricide : as this crime had never been heard of among the Athenians, he thought, that to forbid it, would be rather giving them a notion of committing it.

He ordered all his laws to be deposited in the Areopagus. This court was founded by Cecrops, and in the beginning was composed of thirty judges, who were afterwards increased to five hundred. They held their sittings by night, and the orators were allowed only to state the case of their clients, without endeavouring to excite the passions.

The Athenian laws were afterwards received at Rome : but as the laws of the Romans became those of the several nations which they subdued, it will be necessary to enlarge a little upon this subject.

Romulus was the founder and first legislator of Rome. We have the following few fragments of his laws remaining.

He ordained, that the kings should have the supreme authority in things relating to the administration of justice, and to religion ; that no credit should be given to the fables that are told of the gods ; that no notions should be propagated concerning their nature, but such as are pure and religious ; and nothing base or dishonourable should be attributed to those happy beings. Plutarch adds, that it is impious to imagine the Deity takes any pleasure in the charms of a mortal beauty. And yet this king, who had so little superstition in other respects, ordained that nothing should be undertaken without first consulting the augurs.

Romulus placed the Patricians in the senate, and
divided

divided the Plebeians into tribes ; and as to the slaves, they were not considered at all.

Husbands had a right to punish their wives with death, when they were convicted of adultery or drunkenness.

Fathers had an unlimited power over their children ; they were allowed to destroy their new-born infants, that had any monstrous deformity. Parricide was punished with death ; if a patron defrauded his client, he was held infamous ; and if a step-daughter happened to strike her father, she was abandoned to the vengeance of the household gods. Romulus would have even the very walls of towns to be sacred ; hence he slew his brother Remus, for having transgressed this law, by leaping over the walls of the new town.

This prince established also asylums, one of which was near the Tarpeian rock.

To these laws of Romulus, Numa added some new ones : as this prince was very religious, and had right notions of the Deity, he prohibited the representing of God in the resemblance of man or beast. Hence, for the space of one hundred and sixty years from the foundation of Rome, there were no images in the Roman temples.

Tullus Hostilius, in order to encourage the propagation of the species, decreed, that if a woman was delivered of three children at a birth, they should be maintained at the public expence till the age of puberty.

We find, among Tarquin's laws, that he obliged each citizen to give in an account of his estate to the king, under a severe penalty if he failed ; that he regulated the donations and offerings which private persons

persons made to the temples; and that, among others, he permitted manumitted slaves to be admitted into the tribes of the city. This prince's laws were also favourable to debtors.

Such were the principal laws which the Romans received under their kings. They were collected into one body by Sextus Papirius, from whom they took the name of the Papirian code.

As most of those laws had been made for a monarchical government, they were abolished upon the expulsion of their kings.

Valerius Poplicula, Brutus's colleague in the consulate, and a great favourite of the people, for having been one of the principal authors of the liberty of Rome, published new laws, adapted to the government lately established.

These laws allowed an appeal from the magistrates to the people, and prohibited, upon pain of death, the accepting of any post or dignity without their consent. He diminished the public taxes, and made it lawful to kill any person who should aspire to the sovereign power.

It was not till some time after Poplicula, that usury was established; the Patricians at Rome carried it even to twelve *per cent*. If the debtor could not satisfy his creditor, he was dragged to prison, and he and his whole family were reduced to slavery. The severity of this law seemed so intolerable to the Plebeians, who were often victims to it, that they complained against the consuls. The senate was inflexible; and the people being provoked at this treatment, retired to the Mons Sacer; where they might treat with the Patricians upon equal terms. The consequence of this secession was, that they did

did not return to Rome, till it was agreed that their debts should be abolished, and magistrates were created by the name of Tribunes, with a proper authority to maintain their rights. These tribunes reduced the interest of money to half *per cent.* and, at length, it was intirely abolished for a time.

The two orders of which the Roman republic was composed, were continually forming ambitious projects, to increase their respective power; and from hence arose continual distrusts and jealousies. Some factious citizens made it their business to flatter the people, by pushing their pretensions to a pitch of extravagance; and some young senators, men of strong passions, and of no less pride, contributed frequently to render the resolutions of the senate too severe.

The Agrarian law, relating to the division of lands, was a source of frequent animosities. This dispute was first started in the year 267 of the foundation of Rome. The senate found means, sometimes, to stifle these dissensions, by employing the people in military operations; but they were always revived, and continued till the year 300.

Rome, at length, grew sensible of the necessity of having recourse to laws that might satisfy both parties. With this view they sent Posthumius Albus, Antonius Manlius, and Sulpicius Camerinus, to Athens, in order to make a compilement of Solon's laws. These ambassadors, who, at their return, were chosen among the decemvirs, digested these laws, which the senate approved by a decree, and the people by a plebiscitum. They were engraved on ten copper tables, and the year following two more were added to them. This constituted the body of laws,

so well known by the name of that of the twelve tables.

These laws limited the power of fathers over their children; they inflicted punishments on guardians who defrauded their wards; and they allowed people to leave their estates by will to whom they pleased. But the triumvirs ordained afterwards, that the testators should be obliged to leave a fourth part of their fortune to their next heirs; and this is the origin of what we call the Legitim, or the share that a child has by law in his parent's estate*.

Children, born ten months after the death of their father, were declared legitimate; and the emperor Adrian extended this privilege to eleven months.

Divorce, a thing as yet unknown to the Romans, had not the force of law till it was established by the twelve tables. Punishments were also inflicted against injurious actions, words, and writings.

Even the intention of committing parricide was punished with death.

The citizens were impowered to kill a thief, if he had been taken with arms about him, or if he had broke into their house by night.

False witnesses were sentenced to be tumbled down from the Tarpeian rock. In criminal causes, the plaintiff was allowed two days to draw up his accusation, of which he gave notice; and the defendant had three days to make his answer, and prepare for a defence †. If it appeared, upon trial, that the plaintiff had falsely accused the defendant, he was condemned to the same punishment as would have been
been

* There were only two sorts of heirs *ab intestato*; the children and the relations by the male sex.

† The defendant appeared in a suppliant posture before the magistrate, with his relations and clients.

been inflicted on the defendant, if the latter had been found guilty of the charge.

This is the substance of the laws of the twelve tables ; laws of so excellent a nature, that Tacitus says, all good institutions ended with them. Whatever was most perfect in the Egyptian and Greek laws centered in these. They were so equitable as not to restrain the liberty of the citizens, but in such cases as the abuse of it might be prejudicial to the tranquillity of families, and to the security of the republic.

The authority of the senate, which was continually clashing with the privileges of the people, the immoderate ambition of the Patricians, the pretensions of the Plebeians, which were perpetually increasing, together with many other causes, which may be seen in history, raised new disturbances, and flung the republic into violent convulsions. The Gracchi and the Saturnini published some seditious laws ; and during the troubles of the civil wars, a vast number of decrees were issued out, which were occasionally enforced, according to the different success of the persons by whom they were enacted. Sylla abolished the antient laws, and established new ones, which were repealed by Lepidus. The corruption of manners increasing with these domestic dissensions, gave rise to an infinite number of new institutions. Pompey was appointed to reduce them ; and he published some himself, which died with him. During five and twenty years of civil wars, all law and justice were at a stand : and things continued in this confusion till the reign of Augustus, who, in his sixth consulate, re-established the antient laws, and abolished all those which were made during the intestine commotions of the republic.

At length the emperor Justinian removed the confusion which the multiplicity of laws had occasioned in the study of jurisprudence, by ordering his chancellor Trebonian, to compose a compleat body of laws. Accordingly he reduced the whole into three volumes, which are still remaining; namely, the digest, which contains the opinions of the most celebrated civilians; the code, which includes the constitutions of the emperors; and the institutes, which are an abridgment of the Roman laws.

The excellency of these laws was so greatly admired, that, after the extinction of the Roman empire, they were adopted by most civilized nations, who made them the ground-work of their jurisprudence.

The Romans had introduced their laws into the several countries which were obliged to submit to their victorious arms. They were received by Gaul, when Julius Cæsar subdued that country, and made it a province of the empire.

In the fifth century, after the dismembering of the Roman monarchy, the northern nations over-run a great part of Europe. These barbarians introduced their own laws and customs among their conquered enemies. Gaul was then invaded by the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

Clovis thought he shewed an indulgence to his new subjects, by leaving them at liberty to chuse either the laws of the conqueror, or of the conquered. He published the Salic law; and several others were made by his successors.

Gundebald, king of Burgundy, published a decree, by which he permits the use of single combats.

Formerly the nobility had a right to judge as sovereigns, and without appeal.

In the reign of Lewis *the fat*, the supreme and regal jurisdiction was established in France. We find that Charles IX. had a design to reform the law, and to abridge the proceedings, which appears by the ordinance of Moulins: and it is very extraordinary that so wise a design should have been formed in the midst of domestic troubles. But as the president Hainault says, the chancellor de l'Hospital was always watchful for the welfare of his country. At length Lewis XIV. ordered all the laws, from Clovis down to his time, to be reduced into a body, which took from him the name of Code Louis.

The Britons, who, as well as the Gauls, were subdued by the Romans, received also the laws of their conquerors.

These people, before that time, were governed by Druids, whose maxims had the force of laws.

The fathers of families had the power of life and death over their wives and children. All communication with strangers was forbidden: they put prisoners of war to death, and sacrificed them to the gods.

The Romans maintained their power and their laws among these islanders, till the reign of Honorius, who restored them to their liberty, in the year 410, by a solemn act.

The Britons were afterwards attacked by the Picts *, the allies of the Scotch; being but poorly assisted by the Romans, and always beaten by the enemy, they applied for aid to the Saxons. These people, who were only auxiliaries at first to the Britons,

* The Picts, a people who came from the country of Mecklenburg.

tons, became their masters ; and, after a war of 150 years, they subdued the whole island.

The Anglo-Saxons introduced their laws into Britain, the same as formerly obtained in Germany. They divided England into seven kingdoms, which had each its separate government. All of them had general assemblies †, composed of nobles, the midling people, and the order of the peasants. This form of government, which had a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, has continued to our time ; for the authority is still divided between the king, the house of lords, and the house of commons.

Alfred the great gave England the first body of laws. Though these laws were mild, yet this prince was inexorable to magistrates convicted of corruption. It is mentioned in history, that, in one single year, he ordered four and forty judges to be hanged, who had been guilty of betraying their trust.

By the laws of Alfred the great, every Englishman accused of a crime, ought to be tried by his peers ; and the nation still preserves this privilege.

England assumed a new form by the conquest which * William duke of Normandy made of that country. This prince established new courts of judicature, among which that of the exchequer still subsists ; and these several courts followed the king's person. He separated the ecclesiastic from the civil jurisdiction, and caused his laws to be published in the Norman language ; the severest among them was the prohibition of hunting, upon pain of mutilation, and even of death.

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† These assemblies were called Wittenagemot, or the council of the wise, and their government took the name of heptarchy.

* Crowned at London in 1066.

After William the conqueror, the kings his successors granted several charters.

Henry I. surnamed Beauclerc, gave the nobility leave to succeed to inheritances, without paying any acknowledgment to the sovereign ; he likewise permitted them to marry without the prince's consent.

We find also, that king Stephen granted a charter, by which he declared, that he held his power of the people and the clergy ; he confirmed the privileges of the church, and repealed the severe laws of William the conqueror.

King John, surnamed Lackland, granted his subjects the charter called *magna charta*, which consists of 72 articles.

This famous charter regulates the manner of holding fiefs ; as also, the share allowed to widows, who are forbidden to marry again in a hurry, and to give security not to enter into a second marriage at all without leave of the lord Paramount. It establishes courts of justice in fixed places. It forbids the levying of taxes, without the consent of the commons, unless it be to ransom the king, to make his son a knight, or to endow his daughter : it ordains, that no body shall be imprisoned, or deprived either of life or estate, without being judged by his peers, and according to the laws of the kingdom. The king, moreover, engages neither to sell nor to refuse justice to any man.

The laws of Westminster, published by Edward I. were only a revival of the *magna charta*, excepting that they prohibited the acquisition of lands in mortmain, and that they banished the Jews from the kingdom.

Though England has a great many good laws,
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yet there is no country perhaps in Europe, where they are so badly executed. Rapin Thoyras makes a very good remark, that it is owing to a defect in the government, that the regal power is continually clashing with that of the parliament; that their time is employed in watching each other, either to maintain or to enlarge their authority; that this jealousy between the king and the representatives of the nation takes off their attention from the due administration of justice; and that this restless and tumultuous government is continually altering its laws by new acts of parliament, according to the exigency of different conjunctures and events; from whence it follows, that there is no kingdom whatsoever that has so great a need of a reformation in the law as England.

We have only a few words to add concerning Germany. We received the Roman laws at the time we submitted to the arms of that nation; and the reason of our having still preserved them is, because when the emperors abandoned Italy, they transferred the seat of the empire to our country. And yet there is not one circle, nor even one principality, of ever so small an extent, but has its particular customs, which, by length of time, have acquired the force of laws.

After having explained the manner in which laws were established in most civilized countries, we shall observe, that where-ever laws were introduced by the consent of the people, it was necessity that caused them to be received; and that in conquered countries, the laws of the victor became those of the vanquished; but in both alike they have been considerably increased in process of time. If we are astonished

at first sight, that nations should be subject to so many different laws, we shall recover from our surprise, when we observe, that the essential part of laws is every where the same; I mean those, which inflict punishments on crimes, for the preservation of society.

We observe likewise, upon examining into the conduct of the wisest legislators, that laws ought to be adapted to the kind of government, and to the temper and constitutions of the nation for which they are designed; that the end proposed by the best legislators is the public happiness; and that, in general, those laws which are most agreeable to natural equity, some few exceptions made, are the best.

Lycurgus, finding he had to deal with an ambitious people, gave them a kind of laws that were more proper to make soldiers of them than peaceable citizens; and his banishing gold from his republic, was, because of all vices avarice is the most opposite to military glory.

Solon said, that he did not give the Athenians the most perfect laws, but the best they were capable of receiving. He considered not only the temper and disposition of the people, but likewise the situation of Athens, which was near the sea; for which reason he punished idleness, and encouraged industry; nor did he prohibit gold and silver, because he was sensible, that his republic could never attain to any pitch of grandeur and power, but by the prosperity of its commerce.

The laws must absolutely be adapted to the temper and disposition of the people, or there can be no hopes of their continuing long in force. As the Romans were inclined to a democracy, whatever
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tended to alter that form of government was extremely odious to them. Hence so many commotions for the passing of the Agrarian law; the people flattering themselves, that, by a division of lands, they should establish a kind of equality in the estates of the citizens: hence so many tumults for the abolition of debts; because the creditors, who were all Patricians, treated their debtors, the Plebeians, with inhumanity. Now nothing renders the inequality of conditions so odious, as the tyranny which the rich exercise over the poor with impunity.

We find all sorts of laws in all countries; namely, those relating to politics, and to the administration of government; those which regard morals, and inflict punishments on criminals; and, lastly, civil laws, which regulate inheritances, guardianships, the interest of money, and private contracts. The legislators of monarchies are generally the sovereigns themselves. If their laws are mild and just, they will easily maintain their ground, and the public will find its advantage in them: if they are severe and tyrannical, they will soon be abolished; because they must be supported by violence, and the tyrant is single against a whole nation, who are impatient to suppress them.

In several republics, where private persons were the legislators, their laws succeeded, only when they were able to establish a just equilibrium between the power of the government and the liberty of the citizens.

It is only in regard to laws which regulate the morals of the people, that legislators agree, in general, upon the same principle, excepting that they are more severe against some crimes than others:

and this, without doubt, because they knew the vices to which the nation had the strongest bias.

As laws are a kind of barrier against the inroads of vice, they must certainly have recourse to the terror of punishments to command respect. Yet it is not less certain that legislators, who have shewn a dislike to the multiplying of penal laws, are to be commended as much at least for their humanity, as others for their rigour.

The greatest difference is in civil laws: those by whom they were established, found certain usages introduced before their time, which they did not think proper to abolish, for fear of opposing the prejudices of the nation; they shewed therefore a regard to the custom, by which they were looked upon as innocent; and though these usages were not strictly equitable, yet they adopted them, purely out of regard to their antiquity.

Whosoever has been at the trouble of making a close inquiry into the nature of laws, must have found a great many, without doubt, which, at first sight, seem contrary to natural equity, and yet are otherwise. I shall give only this single instance of the right of primogeniture. Nothing appears more just, than to make an equal division of the paternal estate among all the children; and yet experience shews, that even the largest inheritances, sub-divided into several shares, will reduce, in time, the most opulent families to indigence. This is the reason that parents have chosen rather to disinherit their younger sons, than to make such a settlement as must inevitably occasion the decline, if not the extinction of their families. And, by the same reason, those laws which seem oppressive and severe to some individuals,

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are yet to be commended, when they are conducive to the welfare of a whole community: for a wise legislator will always prefer the interest of the whole to that of a part.

The laws which require the greatest circumspection and prudence on the part of the legislature, are undoubtedly those relating to debtors. If they are favourable to the creditors, the situation of the debtors becomes too hard, and an unlucky accident may ruin them for ever: on the other hand, if they should favour the debtors, public credit is hurt, by weakening the security of contracts.

But a just medium, which at the same time supports the validity of contracts, and does not oppress the insolvent debtor, is, in my opinion, so difficult a thing, as never to be expected, even from the wisest legislators.

We shall not enlarge further upon this article; the nature of this essay does not permit us to enter into a more minute detail; let us, therefore, confine ourselves to general reflexions.

A perfect body of laws would be one of the noblest productions of the human mind: such a work would require an unity of design, and so great an exactness and proportion of rules, that a state directed by those laws should be like a watch, whose wheels are all made for the same end: it would require a profound knowledge of the human heart, and of the temper and constitution of the people: it would require moderation in the inflicting of punishments, so as to preserve the people's morals, and yet be neither too mild nor too severe: it would require a singular perspicuity and distinctness in wording the decrees, so as never to afford the least room
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for chicanery ; and the decrees themselves should be an abstract of the best regulations of the Civil law, ingeniously and simply applied to the customs of the nation : in fine, it would require sagacity to provide against every case that may happen, and judgment to combine even the minutest circumstances. But perfection is not to be expected from the frail condition of humanity.

The people would have reason to be satisfied, if legislators were always actuated towards them in the same manner as those fathers of families who made the first laws, were towards their children ; they loved their children, and every rule they prescribed to them had no other view than the happiness of their families.

A few wise laws make a nation happy ; but a multiplicity of them embarrass the administration of justice. As a skillful physician does not overload his patient with medicines, so a wise legislator does not burden the public with superfluous laws. Medicines, when too numerous, obstruct one another, and have not their due effect ; so too many laws become a labyrinth, in which the lawyers and justice itself are lost.

Laws were multiplied among the Romans, by the frequency of revolutions : every ambitious person, whom fortune favoured, set up for a legislator. This confusion continued, as we have already observed, till the time of Augustus, who repealed all those unjust decrees, and revived the old laws.

In France, the multiplicity of laws was owing to the conquest which the Franks made of that country, where they introduced their laws. Lewis XI. had a design of re-uniting all these different institutions, and

and of establishing, as he said himself, only one law, and one measure, throughout his dominions.

There are many laws to which men are attached, only because they are generally slaves to custom: though better regulations might be substituted in their stead, yet it would be dangerous, perhaps, to attempt to meddle with them. The confusion which such a reformation would occasion in the administration of justice, would be productive of more mischief, perhaps, than the new laws could do good.

And yet this does not hinder but there may be cases, wherein a reformation shall appear absolutely necessary; for example, when there are laws contrary to the public good, and to natural equity; when they are couched in vague and obscure terms; and, lastly, when they imply a contradiction either in the meaning or in the words.

Let us endeavour to illustrate this matter by a few examples. The laws of Osiris, in regard to thieves and robbers, will serve as an instance in the first case. By these it was ordained, that whoever entered himself of their gang, should give in his name to their chief, and promise to deliver him all the booty he should purloin. Those who had been robbed applied to the chief of the gang, who returned them to the right owner, on condition of his paying a fourth part of their value. The legislator imagined, that, by this expedient, they should put every citizen in the way of recovering what had been stolen from him, by paying a moderate sum to redeem it; whereas this was the way to make all the Egyptians thieves. Doubtless this was far from being the intent of Osiris in the enacting of this law; unless it may be said, that he connived at theft, as an evil which it was impossible

impossible to prevent intirely ; in the same manner as at Amsterdam they tolerate the Spiel houses, and at Rome the public stews.

And yet, if such a law as that of Osiris should unfortunately happen to be established in any particular country, a regard to morals, as well as to the public security, requires the abolition of it.

The French are the very reverse of the Egyptians ; the latter were too mild, the former were too severe. The rigour of the French laws is extremely terrible ; the least petty larceny is punished with death. And the reason they give for it is, that by hanging pickpockets they destroy the seed of robbers and assassins.

But natural equity requires there should be some proportion between the punishment and the crime. Robberies attended with murder deserve to be punished with death ; but those which are committed without offering violence, may be attended with circumstances that sometimes are capable of exciting compassion towards the criminal.

Infinite is the distance between the situation of the rich and that of the poor : the one rolls in money, and riots in superfluity ; the other is forsaken by fortune, and destitute even of necessaries. Suppose a poor fellow steals, through want, a few guineas, a gold watch, or some such thing, from a person to whom such a loss is but a mere trifle ; is this a sufficient reason to condemn the wretch to death ? does not humanity call upon us to soften the severity of the punishment ? It seems, indeed, that this law was made by the rich : and have not the poor a right to say, “ Is there no compassion for our miserable situation ? If you were charitable, you would
“ be

“ be humane ; if you relieved us in our distress,
 “ we should not rob : we ask you, whether it be
 “ fair, that all the pleasures of life should fall to
 “ your share, and nothing but misery to ours ? ”

In Prussia we have taken a middle way between the remifness of the Egyptians, and the severity of the French. We do not punish a simple theft with death, but only confine the delinquent for a certain time. Perhaps it would be still better to introduce the law of retaliation, which was observed amongst the Jews, whereby the thief was obliged to restore double the value of what he had stolen, or to yield himself the slave of the person he had robbed. Thus, by contenting ourselves with inflicting only slight punishments for slight faults, we reserve capital punishments for banditti, murderers, and assassins, so as to proportion the punishment always to the crime.

There is no law so shocking to humanity as that of Sparta and Rome, which conferred the power of life and death to fathers over their children. In Greece, if a father happened to be so poor as to be unable to provide for his family, he was allowed to kill every new born infant that he could not maintain. Both in Sparta and Rome, if a child was born with any notable deformity, this was sufficient to impower the father to deprive him of life. We are perfectly sensible of the barbarity of those laws, because they are not ours ; but let us inquire, for a while, whether some of ours are not equally unjust.

Is not there something very hard in the manner in which we punish those who cause abortions ? God forbid I should attempt to excuse the horrid action of those cruel Medeas, who, deaf to the cries of nature, destroy the unborn infant, by refusing to give it
 time

time to come to light ! But let the reader lay aside all prejudices arising from custom, and be pleased to give attention to the reflexions I am going to offer.

Do not the laws brand with infamy a woman who is brought to bed out of lawful wedlock ? Suppose a girl, of a tender disposition, is deceived by the fallacious promises of a debauchee, the consequence of her credulity is, that she must take her choice, either to lose her reputation, or the unhappy fruit which she has conceived. Are not the laws to blame for reducing her to this terrible dilemma ? and does not the severity of the judges deprive the state of two subjects at once ? of the child, who has perished by abortion, and of the mother, who might have repaired this fault by a legitimate propagation ? To this it will be answered, that there are foundling hospitals ; and I own, that these save the lives of a multitude of bastard children : but would it not be better to strike at the very root of the evil, and to preserve so many poor creatures, who come to a miserable end, by abolishing the note of infamy which attends desultory and unguarded embraces ?

But nothing is more cruel than the practice of putting criminals to the torture : the Romans used it against their slaves, whom they considered as a kind of domestic cattle ; but it was not allowed against a citizen.

The torture is used in Germany against malefactors, after their conviction, to oblige them to confess their crime. In France it is used to prove the fact, or to discover the accomplices. In England they had formerly the ordeal, or purgation by fire * and by water,

* The ordeal by fire was, by obliging the person accused to hold a piece of hot iron between his hands ; if he was so lucky as not be hurt, he was acquitted ; if otherwise, he was punished as guilty.

ter † ; at present they have a kind of torture less severe, indeed, than the ordinary one, but which amounts pretty near to the same thing.

I hope I need make no apology for condemning the use of the torture ; for presuming to take the part of humanity against a practice so shameful to Christians, and to all civilized nations ; and, if I may venture to add, a practice as useless as cruel.

Quintilian, the most learned, and most eloquent of rhetoricians, treating of the torture, says, it is a thing that depends on constitution. A villain, of a robust habit of body, will deny the fact ; when an innocent person, of a weak constitution, shall own it. Suppose a man is accused of a crime, and there are suspicious circumstances against him ; the judge is dubious, and wants to come at the truth ; the poor wretch is then put to the torture. If he is innocent, is it not barbarity to make him suffer martyrdom ? If the violence of the pain obliges him to depose against himself, is it not the most shocking inhumanity to rack and condemn to death a virtuous citizen, against whom there are only suspicious circumstances ? It would be much better to pardon twenty who are guilty, than wrongfully to condemn one innocent person. If laws ought to be made for the good of the people ; how is it possible to bear with such as these, which lay the judges under a necessity of committing, in method and form, actions that are shocking, in the highest degree, to human nature ?

It is now eight years since the practice of torturing criminals has been abolished in Prussia. We are
sure

† The ordeal by water was, by tying the person accused, and throwing him into the water ; if he did not sink, he was acquitted.

sure not to confound the innocent with the guilty ; and yet justice is as well administered as formerly.

Let us now examine into these vague laws and tedious proceedings which have need of a reformation.

There was a law in England that prohibited bigamy : upon this a man was charged with being married to five wives ; but as the law was not clear and distinct in regard to the case, and as they interpret it literally, the man was acquitted. To render this law clear, it should be worded thus : that whoever is married to more wives than one shall be punished, &c. The want of distinctness in the wording of laws, and the literal interpretation of them in England †, has occasioned the most ridiculous abuses.

Clear laws prevent chicanery and cavilling, for they are to be understood according to the meaning of the letter ; when they are indistinct or obscure, we are obliged to have recourse to the intention of the legislator ; and, instead of judging of facts, our time is taken up in defining them.

The chicanery of lawyers is kept up chiefly by successions and contracts ; for which reason the laws relating to these articles have need of the greatest perspicuity. If we are so nice with regard to words, in writing trifling pieces for amusement ; how much more scrupulous ought we to be in weighing the terms of the law, by which the lives and property of the people are to be decided ?

There are two rocks which judges ought to avoid splitting upon, corruption and error ; their conscience

† Muralt. A man slit another's nose, and was taken up and prosecuted for maiming the king's subject ; but in his defence he maintained, that the part he had cut was not a member ; and the parliament was obliged to make a new act, declaring, that the nose should be looked upon as a member.

ence should secure them against the first, and the legislature against the second. This is principally effected by the perspicuity of the laws, which leaves no room for cavilling; and, in the next place, by the simplicity of the pleadings. The council may be ordered to confine themselves to a plain narration of the fact, supported by some proofs, and terminating in an epilogue, or a short recapitulation. Nothing bears such a sway with it as the art of managing the passions, in the mouth of an eloquent orator: he seizes, as it were, on the mind of the judge; he secures him in his interest; he excites his passions; and he impells him, in fine, like a torrent: thus the justice of the cause is sacrificed to the bewitching charms of eloquence. Lycurgus and Solon prohibited this kind of oratory; and if we meet with some instances of it in Demosthenes's Philippics, and in the orations *pro Corona*, by him and Eschines, we are to observe, that they were not pronounced before the court of Areopagus, but before the people; that the Philippics are of the deliberative kind; and that those *pro Corona* are rather of the demonstrative than of the judicial kind.

The Romans were not so scrupulous as the Greeks in regard to their judicial pleadings. There is not one of Cicero's pleas but is worked up with all the art of moving the passions. I am sorry to say it of this great orator; but we find in his oration *pro Cluentio*, that he had pleaded before for the opposite party: and though Cluentius's cause does not seem absolutely good, yet it was carried by the imposing art of the orator. Cicero's master-piece is, without doubt, the peroration *pro Fonteio*; it gained his client the cause, though he appears guilty. What

an abuse of eloquence, thus to evade the very best of laws by its illusive charms !

Prussia has followed this example of Greece, by banishing the dangerous subtilties of eloquence from her courts of judicature : and for this she is indebted to the wisdom of the high chancellor, whose probity, learning, and indefatigable activity, would have been an honour to the Greek and Roman republics, even at the time when they were most fruitful in great men.

There is still another article remaining, which ought to be included under the obscurity of laws ; this is the tedious practice of the courts, or the number of delays which the parties at law must go through before the suit is determined. Whether they are injured by the iniquity of the laws, or whether their rights are confounded, or whether the length of the proceedings swallows up the very property for which they are contesting, and deprives them of the advantages due to them, it all amounts to the same ; one may be a greater evil than the other ; but all abuses want a reformation. Whatever lengthens the course of proceedings, gives a considerable advantage to the rich over the poor ; they find means to spin out the cause from time to time, till they ruin their adversary, and are left to run the race by themselves.

Law suits formerly lasted in our country above an hundred years. Even when the cause had been decided by five courts, the party who was cast might appeal, in open contempt of justice, to the universities, and the Civilians altered the sentence as they thought proper. Thus the party at law must have been very unlucky indeed, if in five different courts,
and

and I know not how many universities, he could meet with no body whose heart was open to venality and corruption. This method of proceeding is now abolished; causes are determined finally in the third instance; and judges are allowed only the space of a year to decide the most intricate causes.

We shall conclude with a few remarks concerning those laws which imply a contradiction either in the words or in the sense.

When the laws of a country are not reduced into one body, they must needs contradict one another very frequently. As they are the work of different legislators, who have not all proceeded on the same plan, they must want that unity which is so essentially requisite in all matters of importance.

Quintilian treats this subject in his institutes; and we find, in Cicero's orations, that he frequently opposes one law against another. The same may be observed in the history of France, in regard to the edicts, which are sometimes in favour of, and sometimes against the Huguenots. The necessity of digesting these ordinances is so much the more indispensable, as nothing is more contrary to the majesty of laws (which are always supposed to be established with deliberation and prudence) than to find them openly contradictory to each other.

The law against duels is just and equitable, as our very reason tells us; and yet it has not answered the end which princes expected. Prejudices of a more antient date than this law, have hindered it from taking effect; and the public, who are generally carried away by false notions, seem to have entered into a tacit agreement not to obey it. A mistaken point of honour, but generally received, bids defiance to

the power of sovereigns ; and, indeed, they cannot put this law in full force without being guilty of a kind of cruelty. Every man, who has had the misfortune of being insulted by an inconsiderate fool, passes for a coward all over the world, if he does not revenge the affront, by the death of the person who offered it. If the injury is done to a man of family, he is looked upon as unworthy of the noble titles he bears, unless he demand satisfaction ; and if he belongs to the army, and does not take this method of deciding the difference, he is obliged to quit the service with ignominy ; nor will he afterwards find employment in any court in Europe. What method then must a private person take, if he happens to be engaged in so thorny an affair ? must he incur infamy and disgrace by obeying the law ? or shall he not rather run the risque of his life and fortune to save his reputation ?

The difficulty that now remains is, to find out an expedient for saving the honour of private persons, and of preserving, at the same time, the law in its full vigour.

The authority of the greatest princes has been ineffectual against this barbarous custom. Lewis XIV. Frederick I. and Frederick-William, published very severe edicts against duels, but all to no purpose ; only that duels afterwards changed their name, and were called rencounters ; and several noblemen, who were killed on these occasions, were said to have died suddenly.

If all the princes in Europe do not appoint a congress, and unanimously agree to brand with infamy those who, in contempt of their laws, attempt to cut one another's throat in these single combats ; if,
I say,

I say, they do not enter into an agreement, not to afford any kind of asylum to this kind of murderers, and to inflict severe punishments on such as shall insult their equals either by word, deed, or writing, there will never be an end of duels.

Let me not be charged with having copied the visionary notions of the Abbe de St Pierre. I see no impossibility in this, that private persons should submit their quarrels to the decision of judges, no more than in submitting the disputes they may have relating to property. And why should not princes assemble a congress for the general good of mankind, after having held so many fruitless ones for matters of lesser importance? To return to the point; I may venture to maintain that this is the only effectual way of abolishing, throughout Europe, that ill-judged notion of honour, which has cost the lives of so many brave men, whose country might have expected the most eminent services from their abilities.

Such is the abstract of the reflexions that have occurred to me upon laws. I have confined myself to the outlines, without drawing a full plan; and yet I am afraid I have said too much.

The last remark I have to make is, that those nations who have but just begun to shake off their barbarousness, seem to require a greater severity of laws; but nations that have been long civilized, and whose manners are gentle and mild, have need of humane legislators.

To imagine that men are all devils, and to fall upon them with inveterate rancour, is the visionary notion of a sour misanthrope: to suppose that they are all angels, and to leave them intirely to their own guidance, is the dream of a silly monk: to be persuaded

ded that they are neither all good, nor all bad ; to reward virtuous actions even beyond their merit ; to punish vicious ones below their desert ; is shewing indulgence to their infirmities, and humanity to them all ; and, in fine, is acting like a reasonable man.

F I N I S.







